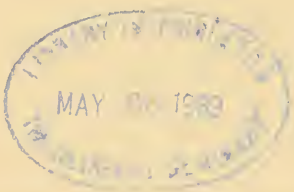

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Wilson, Thomas, 1663-1755.
The works of the right
reverend father in God,

V.1:1

THE LIFE

OF THE

RIGHT REVEREND FATHER IN GOD,

THOMAS WILSON, D.D.,

LORD BISHOP OF SODOR AND MAN.

Works of Thomas Wilson.

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THE LIFE

OF THE

RIGHT REVEREND FATHER IN GOD,

THOMAS WILSON, D.D.,

LORD BISHOP OF SODOR AND MAN.

COMPILED, CHIEFLY FROM ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS,

BY THE

REV. JOHN KEBLE, M.A.,

VICAR OF HURSLEY.

Lib. of Anglo-Catholic Theol.

"THE CARE OF DISCIPLINE IS LOVE."

PART I.

OXFORD:

JOHN HENRY PARKER.

M DCCC LXIII.

PRINTED BY MESSRS. PARKER, CORNMARKET, OXFORD.

TO

THE REV. THOMAS KEBLE, B.D.,

VICAR OF BISLEY, GLOUCESTERSHIRE,

These Memorials

ARE MOST AFFECTIONATELY INSCRIBED BY

HIS BROTHER.

PREFACE.

OF the authorities chiefly made use of in this compilation, the Bishop's own notices in his *Sacra Privata*, and the two Lives,—one by the Rev. Clement Cruttwell, prefixed, with the sanction of the Bishop's son, to the several editions of his collected Works; the other, much later and in some respects enlarged, by the Rev. Hugh Stowell,—have been for years before the public. What more the Compiler has been able to add of the Bishop's personal and domestic history, has been gleaned here and there, by the kindness of many friends and of many courteous strangers. In general he believes that the due acknowledgment and reference will be found in each instance. But he is too conscious that there may be numerous omissions, for which he can only ask pardon.

If the reader find here anything to the purpose on the interesting subject of the laws and courts of the island, he will understand that he is in great measure indebted for it to James Gell, Esq., High Bailiff of Castletown. The documentary reports of the Bishop's ordinary discipline are given from the originals in the registry of the diocese, mostly from the *Libri Causarum* of the several years. For the curious history of the well-known struggle between him and the Lord of the Isle's Council, which the papers in the registry report at large, recourse has been had also to the Rolls Office in Castle Rushen; which has moreover furnished valuable help in the earlier chapters. To the authorities having the care of these documents,

as likewise to those of Sion College, in the library whereof, no doubt by Dr. Wilson's direction, the Bishop's remaining MSS. are for the most part deposited; to the officers of the Bodleian Library, and of the two great Societies of which the Bishop was indeed *pars magna;* and to the clergy of the several parishes whose registers he has had occasion to search, the Compiler's best thanks are due[a]. Illustrations for the Bishop's later years have been furnished by an ample and curious store of letters to and from Dr. Wilson his son: of his own very few are anywhere to be found. These with other memoranda of Dr. Wilson's have been most liberally lent for the purposes of this work by the Rev. H. Cruttwell, of Bath. Of another special help, due to Mr. Parker of Oxford, an account is given at the beginning of Chapter xv.

Among many defects of which he is himself conscious, and many more doubtless which the reader will too easily discern, the Compiler would wish to add one word in excuse for the length to which this Memoir has extended, and another for the freedom with which the Bishop's private thoughts, and the follies and frailties of many with whom he had to do, are here exhibited. One answer will serve for both. It was not within the writer's skill to tell the truth concerning him adequately with less minuteness or with more concealment. And as he found that in approved histories of times even nearer our own the personal faults of those concerned in public transactions are not passed over, so far at least as they may reasonably affect men's judgment on those transactions, he did not shrink from taking the same

[a] As also to the Rev. W. Caine, to Archdeacon Harrison, and to the Rev. Stewart Menteith, respectively, for valuable information on the Bishop's academical life, on the history of his publications, and on the life and death of his revered friend Lady E. Hastings.

liberty in this case; the rather, that very many of the painful matters thus brought forward were more than mitigated by after repentance and amendment.

It may be as well to add here a few particulars to which the Compiler's attention has been drawn too late to insert them in their proper places.

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i. *p.* 103, *note* i. Even this sum is too large, if the Bishop's son may be trusted. He writes to P. Moore, Sept. 25, 1755:—

"I have an account under my father's own hand of his installation. The Governor, Deemsters, twenty-four Keys, and all the clergy of the island, were entertained in a very genteel manner at his own expense, when he had no house to put his head in, nor a stable for his horse, nor a tree to hang it by the bridle; when his fortune was not half so much as some believed, and a young family coming on," (the good Doctor forgets that his father was still unmarried,) "and when he had no other preferment but the bishopric, *and his demesnes let for* £34 15*s.* 6*d. per ann.*"

ii. *p.* 255. The following letter, accidentally preserved in the British Museum, and communicated to the Editor by the Rev. W. Denton, will shew that the Bishop's gratuitous distribution of his book was not limited to the clergy of the island. The person to whom it is addressed was plainly a clergyman, and one of whom the Bishop thought much. One would wish to know more of him, and how, and when, the Bishop came to be at Hull.

"*Isle of Man, April* 13, 1710.

"Good Mr. Banks,—I take this opportunity of acknowledging the great civilities I met with at Hull from you; I have not been in England since that time, or I should have done it sooner. The bearer is a neighbour of yours. He promises to deliver this with my most humble service to you and your good family. If your curiosity leads you to enquire of him, he can tell you how we pass our days in this remote corner of the world. I beg when you write to him, you will give my humble service to Mr. Harison, the person who recommended me to your friendship. I send you a little

book which I printed for the use of this diocese, which pray accept of, and of the thanks and services of,

"Good Sir, your most affectionate friend and brother,

"Tho. Sodor and Man."

iii. *p.* 264. The "Office for Dedication of Churches" should have been here mentioned. In all probability it was drawn up for this occasion, and then first used. On the copy in his own handwriting, from which it was printed in his collected Works, he had endorsed, "Sept. 21, 1708. I consecrated the new chapel of Douglas." He does not add, as in a subsequent instance, "according to this Office." But it can hardly be understood otherwise. Nor can there be any doubt (though his name does not appear in the records) that when our two Houses of Convocation in 1715 sanctioned the Office which appears in Wilkins, and from him in Burn's "Ecclesiastical Law," (that is, in substance, what we now use,) they were for the most part adopting this of Bishop Wilson's. Thus it is a true tradition, that to him chiefly we owe our present Dedication Office. And the Douglas consecration-day is so far a notable day throughout the English Church, that it was the inauguration of that well-known Form.

The significance of the clause, "according to this Office," in the memorandum which follows of the Atherton consecration, may be, that he did not think it necessary to adopt the alterations which our Convocation had made in his Office, but used it, with Bishop Gastrell's consent, entire and unaltered. Why he did not adopt Bishop Andrewes' we are not told, nor warranted to conjecture.

The sentence then which relates to the Office in p. 574 should stand thus: "which was not indeed composed for the occasion, but was probably then used as it stands for the first time in an English diocese."

iv. *pp.* 766-7. It might have been observed here by way of note, that a like saying is recorded of Bishop Fisher of Rochester. "He called his Church his wife, and used to say he would not change his little old wife, to whom he had been so long wedded, for a wealthier." "Gen. Biogr. Dict.," art. Fisher; cf. Burnet, "Hist. of Ref.," pt. i. b. iii. p. 238, ed.

1695. This coincidence was kindly pointed out to the Compiler by Archdeacon Hone.

v. *p.* 775. Since this page went to the press, the Compiler has observed what follows, in letters from Dr. Wilson to Mr. Philip Moore:—

"*Derby, Nov.* 14, 1773.

"The Bishop of Winchester's (Patten of Waynflete) and my most honoured father's, both originals, are safely arrived at Bank, and placed in the saloon, and my poor figure amongst them."

And again:—

"*Nov.* 30. Who can tell but we may meet there again, where you will see our great ancestor, Bishop Patten of Waynfleet, my honoured father, and my poor self, all now hung up in his beautiful saloon, where we used to breakfast, in most magnificent frames. Your father Blackbourne knew his old friend the Bishop of Man, and says it is extremely like him. All our friends of Norton, Bold, and Chester, &c., have come on purpose to see the pictures, and admire them much, and they are the talk of the two counties."

It looks as if the comparatively youthful picture, representing the Bishop with a map of the Isle of Man in his hand, which is engraved (*by T. Lawrence*) from a painting by Philipps in the folio edition of the Bishop's works, 1782, were more or less a work of fancy: though it is commended by Philip Moore (Oct. 30, 1780) as the best likeness he had seen. There is also a portrait by Wright of Derby, in the possession of the Rev. R. Macklin, which of course does not claim to be an original, as the painter was a boy when the Bishop died.

vi. *p.* 776. The following, communicated by the Rev. E. Coleridge, of Eton, should have come in here:—

"*Isle of Man, Jan.* 3, 1732.

"To the Right Honourable Mr. Auditor Harley, at his Office in Lincoln's Inn, London.

"My kind and worthy Freind,—Some days ago I sent you my observations upon Genesis and Exodus, I now send you those upon the rest of the Pentateuch: intreating you, as I did before, most sincerely, to use them, or lay them by, just as you shall judge them proper to the end proposed or otherwise.

"Such short observations may be of some use in such a poor place

as this is, where few books of learned men are to be had, and for such they were drawn up; but I fear they may not be of that use with you. Whatever they are, do with them just as you please.

"I am, my honoured friend,

"Your obliged and humble Servant,

"Tho. Sodor and Man."

vii. *p.* 791. Dr. Wilson, in a letter to Moore, July 12, 1774, gives a startling account of the loss of the copies in question. He is speaking of the title-deeds of the Kirk Michael tithe, which he had purchased of the Duke of Athol to augment the allowance of the clergy:—

"The Clerk of the Rolls is certainly in the right, in retaining one of the original deeds of the Duke's conveyance. . . . And I approve of his sending also authentic copies to the Ecclesiastical Records, *pro salva custodia*. Lord Derby surreptitiously (as I have heard my father often say) got Earl Charles's conveyance taken from the temporal records into his own hands; this the late Lord knew, and therefore put the clergy on a proof, which they could never have made out, if I had not providentially found it recorded by the Bishop in the Chapel of the Rolls, after a search of many months."

It should be remembered that Dr. Wilson's memory was not always very correct. "The late Lord" of course knew that the papers were missing, but it does not follow that he knew how they came to be so.

viii. *p.* 849. "The great and good Mrs. *Asbell*" is a mistake for *Astell* in the transcriber of this letter, which is preserved in the Manx Episcopal Registry. Watt, "Biblioth. Authors," i. 51, says, "Astell, Mary, a learned and ingenious lady, born at Newcastle-upon-Tyne about 1668. In 1696 she published a learned and ingenious treatise entitled 'A Serious Proposal to the Ladies for the Advancement of their true and greatest Interest.' In 1700, 'Reflections on Marriage.' In 1704, 'The Christian Religion as practised by a daughter of the Church of England.'" He mentions others of a more secular cast, as "Familiar Dialogues," "An Inquiry after Wit," &c.

ix. *p.* 871. "Three *day-math* of hay." "*Day's-math*, 'an acre:' the quantity mown by a man in one day. *West.*

Generally, any small portion of ground. Its size seems to have been variously estimated. *Math,* 'a mowing.' *Somerset.*" (Halliwell's "Dict. of Archaic and Provincial Terms," i. 294; ii. 544. Lond. 1855.) *Lattermath* is a well-known term for the second crop of grass.

x. *p.* 885. This pastoral the Bishop accompanied in one instance with the following letter [b]:—

"*Dec.* 8, 1746.

"Mr. Wilks,—I hope this will come to your hands before you go for Castletown. I have sent copies to the north, and as far as Kirk St. Anne's. I must desire you to take a copy for yourself, and let Mr. Radcliff take one, and take this with you to Castletown, and desire Mr. Quayle to copy it, and send it to Arbory and Ryshen, that they may take copies to be made use of before Sunday next, without fail. I am very much rejoiced with the account you give me of the temper that unhappy man is in; I pray God keep him in that good disposition to his dying hour. He has had and shall have my daily prayers for his conversion and eternal salvation; and you will let him know what care I have taken that he may have the prayers of this whole Island for the same. His good and pious desires and Christian disposition and behaviour under this great trial and affliction, will be a great means of procuring a greater degree of grace in this life, and happiness in the next. I am sure he will soon be removed into a more comfortable lodging, if it is not done already, that you and all good men may converse with him, and comfort him in his distress. I hope he will continue to be satisfied that God's dealing with him after this manner, though uneasy to flesh and blood, is the very greatest blessing that could befall him. I shall be satisfied with the value of the bill whenever they" [does he mean the clergy?] "are in cash. I write by candle-light, and it is well [if] you can take my meaning. I am

"Your affectionate friend and brother,

"Tho. Sodor and Man."

xi. *p.* 912. It is suggested in an interesting little work, "The History of Wesleyan Methodism in the Isle of Man," that considering the known intimacy of the Wesleys with Oglethorpe, and their visit to Georgia, they might very probably have something to do, directly or indirectly, with the "Instruction for the Indians." No one, of course, can be

[b] Communicated to the Compiler by Miss F. B. Burney, of Brighton.

sure of the contrary. But there is no evidence of any communication between them and the Bishop on this or any other occasion; nor is the Wesleyan tenet (if such it is to be called) of the necessity of sensible conversion and assurance of present personal salvation, anywhere that I know of recognised, either in that book or elsewhere in our Bishop's writings. His son's journal from time to time mentions "Wesley of Lincoln," with whom he was contemporary in Oxford, as an acquaintance visiting him at his rooms, and in one instance obtaining from him a letter of his father's, to shew in recommendation of certain refugees from Salzburg. He speaks, too, of an earnest sermon of his, yet mistrusting in him what he calls "enthusiasm," both then and some years after, where he applies that word to Wesley's impression that he had an extraordinary call to Georgia. It is just possible that the Bishop and Wesley may have met in 1735, when the latter came up to London to present his father's translation of Job to Queen Caroline. On that occasion, being introduced to Oglethorpe, he and his brother Charles made up their minds to accompany him on his return to the new colony. Yet, if our Bishop then became acquainted with either of them, it is hardly credible that his son's diary should ignore it. Entries there are about Oglethorpe and Wesley, but not until after the Bishop had left London. One of them is remarkable. Oct. 12, Mr. Wilson took leave of Oglethorpe, who was just returning to Georgia, at court. Wesley was there, presenting the Queen with his father's book on Job. "The Queen said, my father was her Christian bishop." Two days afterwards, Oct. 14, the Wesleys embarked at Gravesend. Oglethorpe returned in 1737, John Wesley the year after; they were far from being on confidential terms. The "Indian Instructed" came out in 1740, dedicated to Oglethorpe. The reader can judge whether it is likely that Wesley should have been at all concerned in it, the Bishop himself being all the while far away in his island, and his son seeking criticism in a very different quarter. The only instance, so far as we are told, of Bishop Wilson coming in personal contact with any one called a Methodist,—that of Mr. Meriton, in this same year, 1740,

—shewed him little inclined to favour their peculiar modes of doing good.

It is curious, by the way, to observe how Bishop Wilson, through his son, was all but brought into contact, on the one hand with Wesley, and on the other with Bishop Butler, yet never had personally anything to do with either. There is mention in Dr. Wilson's journal of his approbation of certain works of Delany and others, but no such word occurs of the "Analogy," nor is it mentioned in the catalogue of the books in his study when he died. Probably he never read it. But between him and Skelton, the author of "Deism Revealed," a deep feeling subsisted of mutual admiration. Skelton's cordial tribute to him, and contrast of him with Hoadley, is well known [c]. And our Bishop in 1750 caused his son to make the following memoranda:—"To speak to the Bishop of Clogher to recommend Mr. Crane to him in case my dear father should die, and *about Mr. Skelton.*" "To send my father *Ophiomaches,*" (Deism Revealed,) "twenty of the second edition, for the clergy."

A few particulars may be here added of the after life of the Bishop's son [d]. He continued to pursue a busy though not a very influential course; interesting himself in many things, not always in proportion to their importance nor to the good that he could do by interfering. After his wife's death especially, which occurred in 1772, he became a very keen politician, on what was then reckoned the democratic side, and made himself talked of by his extravagant attentions to Mrs. Macaulay, the would-be writer of history; but she forfeited his favour by marrying without his leave. For many years he was thoroughly invalided, and lived almost entirely at Bath under the care of a medical man, Mr. Cruttwell, to whom he entrusted

[c] In the concluding Dialogue of "Deism Revealed," where he speaks of the "Independent Whig," p. 271.

[d] Mostly from the Gen. Biogr. Dict.

the editing of his father's works; and the editor was so impressed by the example and writings of his author, that he changed his profession and became a clergyman himself. This publication was in fact the main event of the Doctor's life. The work came out by subscription, in 4to., 1781, and in folio, with some slight alterations, the year following. It has since been reprinted several times in 8vo., 4 volumes. He always kept up his interest in his native island, through his correspondence especially with Mr. Philip Moore, and was assisting in benevolent plans, there and elsewhere, as long as he lived. The remembrance of his father was to the end his pride and delight; the motto which he assumed being, *Sequiturque Patrem non passibus æquis.* One saying is told of him which might well have been his father's own. Having discovered a sad case of a clergyman in Bath, sick, poor, and with a large family, he that evening put a large sum (said to be £50) into Mr. Cruttwell's hand, and told him to give it to the sufferer in the most delicate way, as from an unknown person. Cruttwell said, "I will call upon him early in the morning." "You will oblige me," said Dr. Wilson, "by calling directly. Think, Sir, of what importance one good night's rest may be to that poor man." Dr. Wilson died April 15, 1784, and is buried in the church of St. Stephen's, Walbrook, of which he had been Rector forty-six years. He was also minister of St. Margaret's, Westminster, and in reference to improvements which he there promoted published a tract "On the Ornaments of Churches."

Bishop Wilson's collateral descendants (by which is meant the posterity of his brothers and sisters) are no doubt very numerous, and in very unequal stations

of life [e]. Two among them one may venture to name, were it only that there is a satisfaction in realizing the fact that he has representatives in this generation;—the Rev. R. Macklin of Derby, and Mr. William Wilson of Chester, whose aid in making out the family history has more than once required acknowledgment. These two gentlemen are descended respectively from the Bishop's elder and younger sisters, Sarah Macklin and Mary Falkener; Mr. Wilson being also a collateral descendant of the Bishop's father, and perhaps of Dr. Sherlock his uncle. It is hardly necessary to add the well-known name of Colonel Wilson Patten, as in another sense representing our Bishop in his own two counties especially. But the writer may be pardoned for so doing, and for acknowledging how great an encouragement it has been to him all along, to know that the person in whom those two names are so rightfully and happily united has looked kindly on this undertaking [f].

The prefatory matter omitted in the fourth volume of this edition of Bishop Wilson's Works, and for which the reader is there referred to this volume, will be found in the "Life," under the head of the several works contained in that fourth volume: at p. 250—255, for the "Manx Catechism;" p. 755—759, for the "Introduction to the Lord's Supper;" and at p. 912—919, for the "Instruction to the Indians."

[e] The Compiler cannot write this sentence without expressing his obligation to the Rev. John Judge, now of Leighton, near Welshpool, for great and kind trouble taken in searching registers far and near for information on this subject.

[f] Some lovers of Bishop Wilson may like to know that (besides his MSS.) *material* relics of him are here and there believed to exist. I may be permitted to mention, that at Bath Mr. Cruttwell used to shew a lock of his hair; at Douglas, his study clock, which he bequeathed to Mr. Wilkes, is now in the possession of Mr. Simpson; at Burton there is, or was, talk of a child's chair of his; at Ramsey of a cradle; besides what may be preserved at Bishop's Court.

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LIFE OF BISHOP WILSON.

CHAPTER I.

FROM BISHOP WILSON'S BIRTH TO HIS ORDINATION AS DEACON, 1663—1686.

"If Christians would but accustom themselves to render to God the glory of His mercies,—to take notice of, and to give Him thanks for, the many favours, deliverances, visitations, or chastisements they every day meet with,—they would most surely engage the divine goodness and providence to multiply those blessings upon them, which they put a stop to by their ingratitude[a]."

As might be expected from the author of this devout and touching sentiment, Bishop Wilson's remaining papers abound in memoranda of the dealings of Providence with himself, by which one may be enabled to place and verify many leading points in his life. And the same sentiment borne in mind may perhaps help to connect his personal history with the needs and interests of his Island Diocese, which was in a manner all the world to him. We may be enabled to discern how, as by special provision, the flock was prepared for the pastor, and the pastor for the flock. It is a thought likely to be even forced upon all, who shall consider with any attention the records of the island, and compare them with the fortune, and character, and writings of the man.

Of course, in memoranda such as have been alluded to, the writer's birthday would hold a conspicuous place; and accordingly we find it entered again and again in the *Sacra Privata*[b]. "I was born, Sunday [the fourth Sunday in Advent] Dec. 20, 1663, in the evening, about four o'clock, of

[a] Short Introd. to the Lord's Supper. Works, 4to. i. 58.
[b] pp. 40, 84, 85. (A.-C. Edit.)

CHAP. I.

honest and religious parents, and in a Christian and in a Protestant country:" "of honest parents, fearing God, and in such a part of the world where the Christian religion is purely taught, and professed without persecution:" to which in another place[c] he adds, "Thy Sacraments duly administered."

He was the sixth child (out of seven), and the fifth son, of Nathanael and Alice Wilson, of Burton, near Neston, in Cheshire, as appears by the following extracts from the register of that parish:—

"Samuell Wilson, sonn of Nathaniel Wilson de Burton, was baptized y^e^ 25th of Martii, 1649.

"James Willson, the sonn of Nathaniel Wilson, was baptized the 25th of July, 1650.

"1653. Joseph Wilson, son of Nathaniel Wilson, baptized the 10th of January.

"Sarah, daughter to Nathaniell Wilson of Burton, was baptized the 7th March, 1657.

"Beniamin Wilson, son to Nathaniell Wilson of Burton, baptized 28th day of July, 1661."

The next entry in the series is, "Thomas, y^e^ son of Nathaniell Wilson, was baptiz'd December 25, 1663." This, it may be observed, is entered in the margin, and in a different hand, not very unlike Bishop Wilson's own. He was the youngest but one of the family.

"Mary, the daughter of Nathaniell Wilson, baptizata fuit 18th day of October, 1666."

Thomas Wilson mentions it among "special favours" that he "had an early right (Friday, Dec. 25th[d]) to the covenant of grace; baptized by Mr. Litherland." This Mr. Litherland was minister of Burton, as the register shews, in 1664 and 1665; and there is some appearance of his having lived at Denwall, which is a township of that parish. "Feb. $16\frac{6}{5}$. Denwall. Elizabetha filia Johannis Litherland baptizata fuit." He buried a daughter, Christian, July 13, 1667, and was buried himself March 11, 1680. His name, then, was associated in Wilson's memory with the recollections of his childhood and early youth, as that of the clergyman under

[c] Sacra Privata, p. 95.

[d] Not, as Mr. Cruttwell says, "on the Monday following his birth."

whose parochial care he had been brought up until he was seventeen years old. This may account for its appearing as it does in his devotional memoranda.

It is curious that in p. 143 of one of the MSS. of *Sacra Privata,* numbered (ii.) in this edition, Wilson says he was baptized by Mr. *Bethel.* Hugh Bethel was the name of the Puritan minister who held Burton at the time of the Restoration: "a man of good family," says Ormerod, "M.A. of Magdalen College, Cambridge, and a Fellow of Christ's College[e]." Not conforming, he lost his place on St. Bartholomew's-day, 1662. Aged people, of whom Wilson would enquire in default of any entry of the clergyman's name in the register of his baptism, might not at first exactly remember the date of Mr. Bethel's retirement.

Wilson's baptismal day, it will have been observed, was the day of his Lord's birth, and in another reckoning, the day of His death. The greatness of the day may have been a reason for anticipating the usual time of christening. For, by his own account, he was a promising, healthy child, had "reason, perfect members and senses, and a sound constitution." But his parents (and especially, perhaps, his mother) were persons likely to think much of the Church's holy days and seasons. Three of their other children were baptized on Saints' Days, and with regard to the rest, it may be supposed that such seasons were not then kept in the parish.

His father, Nathanael, was of "a family which had been inhabitants, time immemorial, of that part of the county of Chester[f]," that is, of the Hundred of Wirral, which forms a peninsula between the estuaries of the Dee and the Mersey.

> "Where Mersey for more state,
> Assuming broader banks, himself so proudly bears,
> That at his stern approach extended Wirral fears,
> That what between his floods of Mersey and of Dee,
> In very little time devoured he might be."—*Drayton's Polyolbion,* Song xi.

The village itself of Burton is situate on the Dee, about eight miles from Chester, westward, a little inclining to the north, in a district then as now chiefly agricultural, except-

[e] Hist. of Cheshire, vol. ii. p. 307.

[f] So says Cruttwell. The earliest distinct mention, however, of any Wilson now occurring in the registers, is the marriage of a William Wilson, 1584. So I am informed by a kind helper residing in the parish.

CHAP. I. ing that even within the memory of persons now living there was a salmon fishery in that part of the Dee, considerable enough to constitute the main occupation of many. But this has now entirely ceased, through the accumulation of sand in the estuary. Burton contains at present about 430 souls.

Here Mr. Nathanael Wilson probably occupied a small farm, or followed some country business on a very moderate scale, at least if one may judge by the present size and appearance of the house in which, according to the local tradition, he lived. It is situated towards the south-west extremity of the village, on the right of the road to Neston, and is kept by the reverential care of its owner from such alteration as would make it cease to be a relic of the Wilson family. At least, in 1853 it was certainly known to be just as it had been sixty-two years before. So I am informed by the lady to whom the reader is chiefly indebted for what he may find here relating to Wilson's native village. She speaks in part on the evidence of an aged widow named Pickance, whose husband had been, through his mother, (known as "the handsome Miss Wilson,") a grandson of one of the Bishop's brothers; and his father's father was remembered as a builder, a great friend of the Bishop's, and chiefly employed by him in certain works about Burton, which will have to be mentioned by and by.

Besides two or three scattered relics in the village, such as a curiously made drinking-glass, now owned by Mr. Congreve of Burton Hall, and an old oaken chair with the Bishop's initials, made something like a modern infant's chair, in possession of Mrs. Pickance; in the house above-mentioned the very room is shewn in which, if you will believe the villagers, (and I know no reason why you should not,) the good Bishop first saw the light. It is a small ground-floor room, on the left hand as you enter from the street, and was used, when I saw it in 1849, as a place to keep potatoes in and farm seeds, the cottage being then occupied by a butcher of the name of Ingleby. Altogether the look and air of the place is such as to recall very vividly the Bishop's repeated reflections on his own origin. "It has pleased God to call me out of a family which (though its

honesty and industry, by God's blessing, has preserved it from poverty) yet is far from being rich, to a post which my own merits and prudence could never have brought me to." "That I had an education, and preferment, above the abilities of my father's house;" "that Thou hast called me to Thy *immediate* service, raised me above the level of my father's house, and continually heaped unexpected favours upon me," —these are some of his devotional topics when he is pouring out his heart in thankfulness, and keeping himself humble with the remembrance of his low estate.

Nevertheless it would seem that the family had attained to a certain consideration in the parish, mainly, I apprehend, by the good qualities of Mr. Nathanael Wilson himself, as shewn in his will, hereafter to be given. His name occurs in the list of benefactors on a tablet at the west end of the church, and either his eldest surviving son, Joseph, or his grandson, was churchwarden in 1730, in which year the church was "beautifyed," as appears by another tablet in the nave.

But there is reason to think that in this, as in so many other cases in Church history, the providential training of the son for his high character and calling came chiefly from the mother's side. She was Alice, sister of Dr. Richard Sherlock, Rector of Winwick, and author of "The Practical Christian." They were of Oxton, a township in the parish of Woodchurch, eleven or twelve miles from Burton, in the same district of Cheshire, and of a family which is said to have been settled in Oxton some 200 years before their time. Their parents' names do not seem to be upon record, unless indeed (which seems not improbable) we may gather them from the two following entries in the parish register of Woodchurch :—

"1606. John Sherlocke and Cicilye Fells were married the xxvij day of Julye.

"1606 [160$\frac{6}{7}$]. Thomas Sherlocke and Alice Inglefelde were marryed the xxvith day of February."

To one or other of these two marriages it is natural to refer the parentage of Dr. Sherlock. But it would seem from his will made 1689, that this John Sherlock was his uncle, and not his father. For he leaves legacies to his *cousin*

CHAP. I. Thomas Sherlock, to his wife, and four children, one of whom is named *Cicely*, and another *John;* the latter the Doctor's godson, and a favoured legatee. From which coincidence of names I gather that Thomas was probably the son of John Sherlock married in 1606. There remains, then, only the marriage of Thomas, sen. (who on this hypothesis was brother to John) and Alice Inglefield as likely to have been that of Wilson's grandparents; and the name Alice, religiously kept up, as we shall find, in the Wilson pedigree, critically confirms this idea.

This Alice Inglefield (if she is the person) was one for whom her grandchild, Bishop Wilson, had an especial veneration, attributing in some measure to her prayers the abundant mercy shewn to him and to his kindred; as may be seen in the following remarkable passage of his "Short Account" of his uncle, Dr. Sherlock[f].

"An especial instance of his (Sherlock's) mother's piety will not be improper to be here mentioned, because it is probable God blessed her with so worthy a son, to convince her and all that read this, that such as fear Him and seek to avert His judgments do never seek Him in vain.

"Her father in his younger years had taken such liberties, as made her justly fear his offspring might hear of it another day, which affected her so sensibly, and especially after she became a mother of children herself, that she very often, and with tears, begged of God to suspend His just declaration of 'visiting the sins of the fathers upon the children unto the third and fourth generation of them that hate Him.' And her posterity have many reasons (though not proper to be mentioned here) to believe she 'was heard in that she feared.'"

Alice Sherlock the younger (the daughter of this good woman, and mother of Bishop Wilson) was born, by her son's account, in 1624, twelve years after her brother Richard, who proved to be the good instrument in the hands of God, as in course of time appeared, both for reforming the diocese of Man, and educating its chief pastor. Alice must have lost her father very early in life, for Bishop Wilson informs us that the care of her brother Richard had devolved upon their mother, "now become a widow," when

[f] As reprinted with "The Practical Christian," Oxford, 1846, p. xxi.

she sent him to Oxford, and he could not have been then more than fourteen years old, nor his sister, consequently, more than two. She may be supposed to have continued with her mother until her marriage, the date of which does not appear; her eldest child would seem by the Burton registry not to have been born until 164$\frac{8}{9}$.

In the meantime her brother Richard had quitted Oxford for Trinity College, Dublin, where he completed his academical education; had been employed as a clergyman in Ireland, had been driven by the troubles of the time to take refuge first in Oxford, afterwards in the neighbouring village of Cassington, finally in a family to which he became chaplain in Lancashire. So he continued during the whole time of the Commonwealth, unable, as we may well suppose, to contribute anything towards the support of his sister's rapidly increasing family. Not even after the Restoration, when he had been taken as chaplain into the household of Charles, son of the Great Earl James of Derby, and had been intrusted by him and his widowed mother with the task of restoring Church order in the Isle of Man, was the good Dr. Sherlock yet in a condition to do much for the temporal benefit of his kinsmen at Burton. But in 1664, having been some time returned from the island, where he had left his work in a fair way of completion, he had an offer of the rich parsonage of Winwick, near Warrington, which he thought it his duty to accept.

His youngest nephew, Thomas, had been born not a twelvemonth before, and we are told on very good authority that "his earliest years were spent under his uncle's roof, for the purpose of having his education superintended by him." It is added, that he had at least one "fellow-pupil, Mr. John Sherlock, son of one of the Doctor's cousins." Dr. Sherlock's will indirectly confirms this statement: "To my cousin, Thomas Sherlock," he says, "I do freely give his bond of twenty-five pounds, which he owes unto me; to Anne, his now wife, five pounds; amongst all his children fifty pounds, twenty pounds to my godson, John, and to Henry, Thomas, and Cicily, ten pounds apiece. . . . Moreover for my godson, John Sherlock, I order that the lease be renewed for Huntshouse in Oxton, and that he succeed his

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father in it." This godson and favoured nephew is doubtless the person meant in the family tradition above quoted, but he could hardly be called "a fellow-pupil" of Wilson's, having been born, as the Winwick register tells us, in 1679, so that he was only nine years old when Wilson came to be his uncle's curate. But he might have been partly educated by Wilson[g].

However, Wilson's residence at Winwick during some part of his childhood was doubtless a main portion of the "great care" which, Mr. Cruttwell tells us, "was taken of his education." We may think of him nearly as of young Samuel, removed, almost as soon as he was weaned, to the care of one as venerable as Eli, and in some respects far more faithful. Not that during his boyhood he was entirely resident with his uncle: "At a proper age he was placed under the tuition of Mr. Harper, a very eminent schoolmaster in the city of Chester, with whom he continued till he was sufficiently qualified for the University." Of this Mr. Harper I have been unable hitherto to find any other mention, except in the entry of Wilson's admission, presently to be noticed, at Trinity College, Dublin.

In the course of these early years of Wilson's life, but when in particular we are not told, he had three narrow escapes from alarming accidents. One (to use his own words) "from the dangerous wounds I received in my head and thigh, when a child;" one "from gunpowder, with W. Woodes; and a third from drowning, at Acton Bridge." This bridge crosses the Weever about a mile from Nantwich, on the road to Chester. A fatalist might say it was a neighbourhood "unlucky" for the Wilson family, for among the scanty notices we have of them, three relate to perils or calamities there occurring: first, the defeat of King Charles the First's Irish army, wherein Dr. Sherlock was chaplain; next, the accident now referred to; and thirdly, an illness to be mentioned by and by, after he had been received into holy orders.

He also specifies among "Merciful Visitations," "An

[g] For this observation I am indebted to the Rev. Harold Sherlock, the recent editor of "The Practical Christian," correcting the report which he had before set down.

afflicting melancholy in my youth." This might be before or after his going to college.

He left Mr. Harper for Dublin at the age of eighteen; not seventeen, as would appear by his own memoranda in *Sacra Privata*[h], "I was entered of the University, of Trinity College, Dublin, 1681." When he set down this, he was at least in his sixtieth year; for the list of "special favours" of which it forms part was written evidently at one time down to 1723, and he may well be supposed to have forgotten in what month of $168\frac{1}{2}$ he was entered. If before March 25, it must have been in 1681, according to the reckoning then in use. In fact, it did not occur until the third month of 1682. For thus it stands in the senior lecturer's book[i]:—

"29 Maii, 1682.	Thomas Wilson, Sizator	Filius Nathanielis Wilson	Natus Annos xviii.	Natus in comitatu Cestriæ	Educatus sub ferula Mri Harper	Tutor Jo. Barton."

This Mr. Barton, his college tutor, was afterwards Vice-Provost, Professor of Civil and Canon Law (1693), and in $170\frac{3}{4}$, March 21, Dean of Ardagh[j], which place he vacated before Jan. 22, $17\frac{18}{19}$, when his successor was appointed.

In Wilson's time there was no examination for these sizarships. Each Fellow had one nomination, the Provost eight or nine, only keeping the number down to thirty. Now they are elected annually, after examination. My informant thinks it probable that Wilson was nominated by Mr. Barton, his tutor. Mr. Barton could not, from his age, know much personally of Dr. Sherlock, for he was only elected Fellow in 1677, and Sherlock had been away from Ireland, excepting perhaps an occasional visit, ever since 1643. But he must have had influential friends, and many in Ireland must have known and venerated his name. The generation, indeed, of those who had suffered with him, Bramhall, and Taylor, and the rest, had very nearly passed away. However, the great Duke of Ormond was then in his second Lord-Lieutenancy, and William Moreton, son of a prebendary of Chester, was Dean of Christchurch in Dublin, and had just

[h] Works, tom. v. pp. 84, 85.

[i] For this and almost all other particulars relating to Wilson's academical life, the compiler is indebted to the Rev. Wm. Caine, M.A., sometime Scholar of Trinity College, Dublin, whose name is here mentioned under a deep sense of obligation for kind and valuable help.

[j] Cotton, Fasti Eccl. Hibern. iii. 187.

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been made Bishop of Kildare[k]. Either of these would be well disposed to further an application from Sherlock.

And the favour, after all, in a pecuniary sense was not so very great. The sizars had no stipend in money, but were allowed two meals daily in hall, and their tuition free, as also their lodgings, if they would be content with inferior rooms. There was the drawback, however, (as in the case of poor scholars at Oxford and Cambridge within our memory,) of having to perform certain menial offices, such as waiting on the Fellows and sweeping the hall; and they had their dinner from what the Fellows had left,—a discomfort to which, I have no doubt, Wilson soon made up his mind, as entirely as in after years, when he was Bishop of Man, to the duty of receiving his petitioners on their knees;—as entirely, and much more cheerfully.

To his sizar's perquisites were added (if I rightly understand his biographer) "an allowance," from friends or from home, "of £20 a-year; a sum which, however small it may now be thought, was in those days sufficient for a sober student in so cheap a country as Ireland[l]."

In this position he continued about a twelvemonth, making so good use of his time, that on Trinity Monday, June 4, 1683, he was elected one of the seventy scholars who from the first foundation by Queen Elizabeth have formed part of the foundation of the College; each of whom then, as now, had to undergo such an examination as made it a real and abiding honour to be elected. The statutes, as reformed by Archbishop Laud under the auspices of Charles I., prescribe Trinity Monday for the day of election, and make all subjects of the crown of Great Britain equally eligible, excepting a preference (*cæteris paribus*) to youths educated in the schools of Dublin, or in places where the College has property; excluding also inheritors, actual or apparent, of an income exceeding £20 per annum. The Provost and seven senior Fellows to elect, and account to be made in the elec-

[k] Wood, Ath. Oxon., iv. 891; Fast. Eccl. Hib. iii. 121.

[l] Cruttwell. This may be illustrated by a remark of Sir Walter Scott in his Life of Swift, p. 70, ed. 1826. "The rate of interest being higher in Ireland, furnished her" (Esther Johnson, Swift's Stella) "with a plausible excuse for taking up her residence near the friend and instructor of her youth." In 1706, the exchange of money from Ireland to Man made £250 worth £270.—Manks Charities, pp. 112, 113.

tion of poverty, talent, learning, and virtue. The examination to last two days, four hours in each day; the statutable subjects then being grammar and *Literæ Humaniores;* provided always, that none should be elected unless he were "ad logicam in aula discendam idoneus," that is, (I suppose,) having so much perception of the force of an argument as to be capable of profiting by the logical lectures and disputations which he would have to attend in the college hall. This ordeal Wilson underwent, and was elected with twenty-one others, his name appearing last but two on the list; which the statutes direct to be made out in order not of merit, but of seniority. Any sizars who may be chosen are always set down as juniors.

These scholarships are tenable until a person is of standing to be Master of Arts, that is, to the end of his seventh academical year. They are ordinarily held for five years. They do not, and did not then, imply any purpose of taking holy orders. In respect of their allowance the scholars were of two classes; some who were called Hibernici, or Natives, and who were to be selected from the more indigent, receiving by the original statute £3 a-year in money; the rest (such as Wilson) 10s. only. This was the statutable salary, but there is reason to believe that in his time it had been raised to £2 10s. yearly for the least favoured, and to £15 for the Natives. All of them had, besides, their tuition, their commons, and half their room-rent.

Some of the most considerable students of that time came to the University mere boys; as Charles Leslie, twenty years before Wilson, for he entered as a *pensionarius,* Aug. 5, 1663, and Jonathan Swift, Wilson's senior by one month only, having entered April 4, 1682; these two were each of them only fourteen years old. Bishop Berkeley afterwards became pensioner at the age of fifteen, in 1699[m]. Dr. Sherlock himself had gone to Oxford at fourteen; too early, as he himself afterwards thought. The reason, however, which he alleged relates rather to learning than to discipline. "To send raw and green youths thither before the tongues be learned and understood, . . . proves often

[m] Stock's Life of Bp. Berkeley, prefixed to his Works, tom. i. p. iii. 4to., Dublin, 1784.

CHAP. I. such a defect, that will hardly after be made good without double diligence and industry; . . . which falls out otherwise when well schooled beforehand[m], for that then they read with much ease and delight as well as profit[n]." Such, partly, might be the cause of his detaining his nephew, Wilson, from college until he was half through his nineteenth year.

As to his choice of Dublin rather than an English University, he had been himself removed thither, after very brief trial of Oxford, "upon the account of a less expensive education," more than fifty years before. And besides this strong ground of economy, and of his natural loyalty to his proper Alma Mater, we are told that "it was at that time usual for the young gentlemen of Lancashire and Cheshire" to be sent to Dublin to complete their education. Wilson's life appeared likely to be spent in Lancashire or Cheshire, and it was well for him to be trained among those with whom, and upon whom, he would have to act. Eventually this turned to his advantage in the diocese of Man also, since most of the gentlemen (and they were not a few) who came there from time to time with various commissions, and (some of them) founded families there, were Lancashire or Cheshire men, neighbours and frequently retainers of the house of Stanley.

With regard to Wilson's cotemporaries and fellow-students, and any intimacies which he might form among them, there is not very much to be said. I set down below the names of those who were scholars of the same election with him, partly for the chance, however slight, that some of them may even now have somewhere representatives, who may retain some lingering tradition, or even relic, of him[o]. As far as I have learned, three only of the number came to be at all conspicuous in after life. The first, Ezekiel Burridge, Vicar-general first of Connor, afterwards of Dublin, who published a Latin History of the Revolution in 1688, and one or two political pamphlets. The second, Charles Whittingham, Archdeacon of Dublin, and then Bishop of Cork and Ross. The

[m] See Fell's Life of Hammond.

[n] From Mr. Crane's Funeral Sermon, quoted at the end of Wilson's Life of Sherlock, p. xxxvii.

[o] John Buckhurst, Robert Philpot, Richard Frankland, John Dowe, Jer. Allen, Ezekiel Burridge, Dan. Conduit, Alex. Sharp, Rich. Barry, Josh. Austin, John Armesteade, Tho. Hemsworth, John Williams, John Travers, Rad. Lambert, Ambrose Blaney, Edw. Chandler, Henry Laynge, Arthur Hassett, *Thomas Wilson*, Cha. Whittingham, Charles Mitchell.

third, and the only one who in after years is known as having kept up his college familiarity with Wilson, was Edward, son of Samuel Chandler of the county of Dublin, entered as pensioner of Trinity College, April 10, 1682, and so nearly two months Wilson's senior; which Edward in process of time came to be Bishop of Durham. And it is noticeable[p] that Wilson and Chandler, being two out of the only three scholars of Trinity College, Dublin, who ever attained to the episcopate in either of the English provinces, should have won their scholarships in the same election; the third being Dr. Claudius Crigan, a scholar in 1759, and by and by one of Wilson's successors in the bishopric of Sodor and Man. Chandler was a recognised friend of Wilson's as long as they both lived, a fact on which Wilson's somewhat ambitious son built a good deal in his restless schemes for preferment.

It is curious, again, to find two such persons as Wilson and Swift in juxtaposition with each other, spending their time for several years under the same roof, and as it were in the same family; for the college books shew that they both lodged within the walls, and both continued for awhile to reside after graduating. But Wilson's residence came to an end about July 1686, Swift's, not until the year of the Revolution, and the breaking out of the war in Ireland. In neither of their existing remains, so far as I can make out, is the least allusion made by the one to the other. Only there is, I believe, a kind of tradition that Swift in after life sent some of his works to Wilson, and that he refused to receive them.

Swift's irregularities during his academical life are but too well known to the readers of his history, though with some doubt as to the extent of them. Of Wilson Mr. Cruttwell says, "He conducted himself during his residence in Dublin with the greatest regularity and decorum, and by his diligent application made a great proficiency in academical learning."

It must not, however, be concealed, that as far as regards duties strictly collegiate, the records of Trinity College appear to furnish a material exception to this statement. There were three services daily in chapel, at 6 A.M., 10 A.M., and 4 P.M. The statutes required attendance both morning and

[p] For this remark I am indebted to Mr. Caine.

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evening, with a fine of 1d. for every absence. The buttery books, in which are entered the fines incurred by neglect of academical rules, are extant for the last year only of Wilson's residence, and the entries relating to him extend from Nov. 21, 1685, to Oct. 2, 1686. In the course of that time he is fined for non-attendance at chapel some fifty or sixty times; for other things, chiefly non-attendance at disputations and lectures, more than seventy times; and what at first looks more serious, four several times he is charged 5s. for "missing night roll," i.e. being out of college until after 9 o'clock[q].

This stands *prima facie* in unpleasant contrast with what we read of Richard Hooker, that "in four years he was but twice absent from the chapel prayers." But (as has been suggested to me by one who was himself a scholar of Trinity College) Wilson may have had pupils to interrupt his attendance, as often happens in that part of a man's course; for at the beginning of the time specified he had either passed the examination for his B.A. degree, or was just about to pass it. We find him in an entry dated Feb. 6, 1686, called for the first time "Sir" (i.e. *Dominus*) Wilson, the title by which Bachelors are designated. This must have been by a few days' anticipation of the honour, for Shrove Tuesday, the only regular day in the spring half-year for the admission to degrees, fell in that year on Feb. 16.

It is observable, too, that the latest of Wilson's chapel absences is dated May 28, just a month before his ordination: as if he had withdrawn from other things in a deep sense of the solemn time that was coming on.

[q] The following is the exact account of his fines, as furnished by Mr. Caine from the buttery-books:—"1685. Nov. 21—27, Chapel, 3d.; Nov. 28—Dec. 4, Ch. 6d., Proctor, 2s. 4d. (probably for disputations neglected); Dec. 5—11, Ch. 6d., and 6d. unexplained; Dec. 26—Jan. 2, absent. 1686. Jan. 16—22, 6d. for missing Surplice Prayers, and 1d. unexplained; Jan. 23—29, Ch. 8d.; Feb. 6—12, Proctor, 8d., 6d. unexplained; Feb. 20—26, Proctor, 2s. (taken off); Feb. 27—Apr. 3, absent; Apr. 3—9, Ch. 4d.; Apr. 10—16, 5s. missing Night-rolls (perhaps taken off); Apr. 17—23, Ch. 7d., Greek Lecture, 1d., Mathematics, 2d., Disput. 1d.; Apr. 24—30, 1d., 4d., 1d., as last week; May 8—14, Ch. 2d., Disp. 1d.; May 15—21, Ch. 3d.; May 22—28, Ch. 5d.; June 5—11, Math. 4d.; June 12—18, Night-roll, 5s. (taken off), Heb. Lecture, 1d., Disp. 1d.; June 19—25, Math. 4d., Heb. 1d.; June 26—July 2, as last week; July 2—9, Night-roll, 5s. (perhaps taken off); July 10—16, Night-roll, 5s.; July 31—Oct. 1, absent; Oct. 2, name erased."

From July 31 to Oct. 2, on which day he ceases to be accounted a resident, (his name standing in the books erased as thus, "D. [Dominus] Wilson." (*sic*), he was entirely out of commons; that is, I suppose, non-resident. His scholarship would not expire until the end of the fifth year, by which time he had been three months and more a licensed curate in England. What so likely as that he might have been professionally employed somewhere during this long absence? We know that from the day of his ordination he had had a strict rule set him, "Never to miss the Church's public service twice a day, when unavoidable business, or want of health, or of a church (as in travelling), doth not hinder."

These things, and the whole of Wilson's character, being considered, it seems improbable that there could have been anything either profane in his frequent absences from chapel, or discreditable in his fines incurred by missing the "night roll;" on one of which occasions, four in all, the sentence was certainly annulled, and may have been so in two of the others.

His partner in one of the fines for missing a disputation was called Browne. Now he had an half-uncle, a Mr. William Brown; for the registry of Kirk-Michael contains the following entry: "Mr. William Brown, born at Burton in Werrell, late of Dublin, half-uncle to the Right Reverend the Lord Bishop, with whom he lived for some years, was buried at the east end of this church, March 21, 1718, aged 80 years." He was therefore eleven years junior to the Bishop's father, who died 1702, aged 75. As he was born at Burton, he may have been the son of Nathanael Wilson's mother by a second marriage. He might be living in Dublin at the time of his nephew's residence there, and from the interest which the Bishop shewed in him to the end, we may conjecture that they saw a good deal of each other at that critical time of his early life. It may have been a useful link between home and college. Mr. Brown was then about forty-five years old, and the Browne fined with Wilson might possibly be a relative of this respected uncle; whose neighbourhood, we may imagine, may account for some of Wilson's absences.

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In further evidence that there was a connection between the Wilsons of Burton and some Browns or Brownes of Ireland, I have seen[r] a bond for £100, given by Thomas Browne, Tallow Chandler, of Drogheda, to Jonathan Wilson of Burton, Husbandman, and witnessed by Nath. Wilson, in 1673. This Jonathan Wilson was no doubt a brother of Nathanael, and may have been the person so named, whom Dr. Sherlock in his will calls brother, as he does Nathanael; which seems to imply that the same Jonathan had married another sister of Sherlock and of the Bishop's mother.

I will add another circumstance, which appears to me still more decisive. The first fine for missing night-roll occurs April 10—16, being the second week after Easter; the second, June 12—18, within a fortnight of his ordination; the third and fourth, July 2—9 and 10—16, he having been ordained only on June 29. The last is the only instance in which we are sure that the fine was confirmed; otherwise the amount would seem very serious, being two-fifths of his whole stipend. Upon these facts it is obvious to remark, first, how very unlikely it is that a person bent on mischief of any kind should persist in the course which of all others was most certain to attract the notice of those under whose discipline he was, and at times when it would be most grossly scandalous, and perfect ruin to his temporal prospects. Again, at this very time, and perhaps long before, Hewetson (of whom more will be said presently) was both urging his "dear friend T. W." to become a candidate for holy orders, and using his interest with a bishop to procure his ordination by special favour; and it is perfectly incredible that he should have done so without great knowledge, and more than approbation, of Wilson's moral and religious demeanour.

Mr. Stowell, in treating of this portion of Wilson's life, says (p. 6), "It appears that when Mr. Wilson formed the resolution of studying for the sacred ministry, his heart and mind experienced a change of the most important nature." If we had the College memoranda of the two preceding years,

[r] By favour of Mr. William Wilson, of Northgate-street, Chester, a descendant of the Bishop's uncle, Jonathan, here spoken of.

we should be, so far, better able to judge of the nature and amount of the improvement thus referred to. That he did indeed receive much good, and that, humanly speaking, through the influence of one friend in particular, is beyond all doubt. But of his having lived previously like an unconverted, unbelieving person, I see no symptom whatever, unless the irregularities above detailed be thought to warrant such an opinion. Had I so thought of them, it would have been every way inexcusable to have slurred them over. The reader will judge. It need not diminish holy emulation or devout thankfulness, if God's providence sometimes leave it in doubt, whether such and such an one among his favoured servants is to be regarded as an example of saintly innocence, or of no less saintly penitence.

Wilson, as I have said, had taken his first degree in Arts on or about Feb. 16, $168\frac{5}{6}$, and it became necessary to settle his future profession, if indeed it had not been settled before. One might have expected, as a matter of course, that his friends and himself should have looked on from the beginning to holy orders, "for which," says his biographer, "he seemed by nature particularly designed." And his long residence with, or near, his mother and his uncle Dr. Sherlock, must have been so much unconscious training both in sound theology and in the moral qualities proper for a clergyman. However, there is no doubt that when he first went to college, it was his intention to study medicine, for which his powers of accurate observation, his practical and decisive turn of mind, and his way of sympathizing with all sorts of people, gave him, no doubt, peculiar advantages.

But at some time during his residence in college, how early I have not been able to ascertain, he formed an acquaintance which, by God's good providence, was destined to determine not only his outward calling, but the whole course of his future life. It was with that Michael Hewetson already mentioned, a student of Trinity College, like himself, but greatly his senior, as appears by the following entry on the college books :—

1660, July 18.	Michael Hewtson (*sic*) Pensionˢ.	Filius quartus Guil. Hewtsoni theologi.	Annos natus 17.	Natus Dublinii.	Educatus Lancastriæ in schola Rochdalensi sub Mrᵒ. Tayler.	Tutor, Mr. Travers.

By Bishop Wilson's account, Dr. Sherlock must have been

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in Dublin about that time, for he states him to have been admitted D.D. there in that year, and the Commencement, which completes the admission, would take place in that month. Against this statement there is the strong fact that no record of Sherlock's degree is now to be found in Trinity College. However, he and young Hewetson may have been acquainted in Lancashire, where the latter, as we see, was educated.

We hear of Hewetson next in holy orders, Oct. 19, 1675, when he was collated to the prebend of Tasagart, in the collegiate church of St. Patrick, his patron being Michael Boyle, then Archbishop of Dublin, afterwards Primate. On Feb. 27, 168½, and not before, he took his M.A. degree. Thus it appears that he was in Dublin a short time before Wilson's entrance. Afterwards he appears to have resided a good deal there, with an only, an unmarried, sister, and to have had a certain degree of influence, being rather a wealthy person. It is recorded that on his proceeding M.A. the customary acts or exercises were remitted to him, in consideration of thirty guineas which he gave towards the college buildings. And in 1684 he was tenant to the college for the lands of Coolremen, in the county of Donegal. He had a brother, too, in holy orders, Thomas Hewetson, who became curate of Carberry, in the diocese of Kildare, 1695, and who appears by his last will to have been in good circumstances, bequeathing an estate of inheritance to his son, and to his daughters sums of money not inconsiderable for that time.

Mr. Michael Hewetson being, as I said, resident in Dublin, no doubt exerted himself to do good to other students besides Wilson; and of course those who would not be mended, would make him an object of sarcastic, if not of spiteful notice. Accordingly his name, with that of his sister, figures in a certain ribald composition called a Tripos, preserved in Swift's works, as being supposed to have at least received correction from him. A "Tripos" is explained by Sir W. Scott to have been a satirical "oration," forming part of the public acts of the University, wherein, by ancient custom, anything might be said of anybody[8]. The piece is mere unseemliness,

[8] Life of Swift, prefixed to his Works, i. 23. Cf. vi. 221—260.

so strange and incoherent, that one wonders how any one could have tolerated it or found it amusing, much more how even in the licence of Commencement—a rougher time, apparently, than any "saturnalia" of old—the authorities could have permitted such trash to be publicly recited. So it was, however, July 11, 1688, two years after Wilson had left the University, and two principal objects of abuse in that Tripos are Mr. Hewetson and his sister. The topics of the abuse supposed to be directed against Hewetson relate almost all of them to details of clerical dress or demeanour, and imply the person spoken of to have been exact in such matters, as Wilson's friend undoubtedly was; it seems also to be implied that he was serving some parish in the city.

This Michael Hewetson having become acquainted with Wilson,—how early in his collegiate life we are not told, (Wilson was the younger of the two by at least twenty years,) —and having fallen as it were in love with him, ("his dear Tom Wilson," he repeatedly calls him,) saw something in the young man which made him anxious to win him to the more direct service of the Church. And however Wilson may have shrunk for awhile from the Deacon's office, as he afterwards did from the Bishop's, Hewetson succeeded in convincing him that he ought to forego his scruples, or waive his difficulties. So he made up his mind to become a candidate for holy orders; not, however, as Cruttwell notices, "entirely relinquishing the pursuit of medical knowledge, a circumstance which was afterwards productive of much benefit to the poor people of his diocese."

At the time of taking his first degree, Wilson was only in the second month of his twenty-third year, so that according to the canons he had to wait until Christmas following for his ordination. But his friend and providential guide, Hewetson, being, as it seems, much connected with the town and see of Kildare, and having from his property, or otherwise, great local influence, availed himself of a special opportunity to bring about his ordination earlier than the canonical time. The choir of the cathedral of Kildare being greatly dilapidated, not to say altogether in ruins, was now in process of restoration, if restoration it could be called, when the result was but a plain Grecian (or Italian) building, reared, after

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a fashion not unusual in Ireland, within the precinct of what had been an old medieval chancel. The work appears by an account which I have seen to have cost from £460 to £500, of which rather more than £200 was privately subscribed, the remainder being supplied from the tithes of the place, i.e. by the Dean and Chapter, who were impropriators[t]. By far the largest subscription in the list stands in the name of the Bishop, Dr. Moreton, before mentioned; it is £112 16s. 4d. out of £202 6s. 8d. Without questioning his generosity, I think it probable that part of this only passed though his hands; and Mr. Hewetson, whose name is not there, might be a contributor in that form. Anyhow, he had so much influence with the Bishop, as to convince him that he would do well to make Wilson a deacon, at the early age above-mentioned: of which anticipation no account is given; the fact is not even adverted to by his biographer, only his words imply that there was something unusual in the case. It was "at the immediate instance and desire of Wilson's friend the Archdeacon," so called by anticipation, for Hewetson was not made Archdeacon of Armagh until Nov. 9, 1693; and accordingly his own expression is, "I being appointed by him (the Bishop) to officiate as archdeacon at the ordination."

Things appear to have been purposely so ordered, as to make the ceremony as solemn and public as possible, and the confidence shewn in Wilson as complete. The extant records, indeed, of Kildare diocese make no mention of the name either of Wilson or of Hewetson. They were much mutilated, it is said, in the rebellion of 1798. Fortunately, however, the fact with all its details is attested by a MS. in Sion College library, in Hewetson's own hand-writing; from which it was printed in Cruttwell's "Life," and for the use of which, as of other precious documents, the present editor is most grateful to the authorities of that college.

"*Mich. Hewetson's Memorandums concerning the Consecration of the Church of Kildare, and the Ordination of his dear friend Tho. Wilson, with some advices thereupon.*

"Upon St. Peter's day, 1686, the Cathedral Church of

[t] The Dean of that day was Dr. Samuel Synge,—elder brother of Edward Archbishop of Tuam,—who continued in that office thirty years.

Kildare was consecrated by the Lord Bishop of that Diocese, he being assisted and attended on by the Clergy of the Diocese in surplices and hoods, besides strangers.

"The ceremony being finished, the Dean of the Church read prayers, and, after the second lesson, the Bishop confirmed a great number. The Dean likewise preached the Consecration Sermon, (in which he took notice of the Ordination too,) which being ended, I having before prevailed with the Bishop to ordain my dear Tom Wilson, and being appointed by him to officiate as Archdeacon at the Ordination, (which was held for him alone,) we put on our surplices, and I presented him to the Bishop, sitting in a chair near the Altar, who ordered him Deacon, in the presence of his Clergy and a great congregation. A Communion immediately followed, to which many of the laity as well as the clergy staid; and for that service we offered a piece of plate, being a Paten worth between six and seven pounds, having on the inside this inscription in capital letters:—"DEO ET ALTARI ECCLESIÆ CATHEDRALIS STÆ BRIDGIDÆ DARENSIS SACRUM, with an I. H. S. in the middle; on the reverse, in small letters, was engraved, *Ex unitis Devotionibus maxime amicorum Mich. Hewetson et Tho. Wilson. Ille Presbyter et Prebendarius Ecclesiæ Cathedralis Sti Patricii Dubl. Hic ad sacrum diaconatus ordinem solemnitur admissus die consecrationis hujus ecclesiæ, viz. Festo Sti Petri* 1686.

"The Bishop and his Clergy (and we in particular), with several persons of quality of both sexes, were invited to the minister of Kildare's house, where we had a great entertainment, with which the ecclesiastical ceremony of that day concluded.

"But it was followed by a remarkable civil solemnity, for the dean being the present soverain of the corporation of that town, and keeping a court that afternoon, at my desire (who had been for several years a freeman of that place) he admitted my dear friend, too, free of the corporation of Kildare; who was sworn and registered accordingly.

"II. And M. H. advises his dear T. W., now entered into Holy Orders, to resolve to proceed in them, and to endeavour to render himself worthy of them; and to that end always to keep in mind the discourse we had the Sunday before he

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was ordained, when we together read over and considered the Canons of both Churches, the Thirty-nine Articles, and the Office of Ordination.

"III. That he would be careful to read over the said Office, the Thirty-nine Articles, and as many of the Canons as are requisite for him to be acquainted with, at least once every year; and that he would frequently peruse and consider all the rubrics in the Liturgy while he is deacon, to the intent (as the Church prudently advises in a rubric at the end of that Office) he may be 'perfect and well expert in the things pertaining to the ecclesiastical administration.'

"IV. That when he is licensed and qualified for performing any part of his ministerial function, he strictly observe the laws of Holy Church, nor ever deviate from the rubric, except when he is commanded so to do, or is dispensed with by his ordinary, if it lies in the power of any ordinary to contradict or dispense with what is established either by Acts of Parliament or Canons.

"V. He is further advised to observe the Church's festivals and fasting-days, as far and as well as possibly he can, and as his health (I mean as to the latter) will bear. And if upon every Sunday and Holiday he read the proper Collect, Epistle, and Gospel, privately, before he goes to church, and one chapter in 'The Whole Duty of Man' every Sunday, he would, in so doing, imitate the practice of his dear friend.

"VI. To say the Morning and Evening Prayer, either publicly or privately, every day is, he knows, the Church's express command in one of the rubrics before the Calendar.

"VII. And if besides he used private devotions at least twice a day, and read every day one chapter in the English Bible to choose, that he may be well acquainted with the letter of the text, he will do a thing in itself pious, to himself profitable, and will herein, too, comply with the usage of his dearest friend.

"VIII. Never to miss the Church's public devotions twice a day, when unavoidable business, or want of health, or of a church (as in travelling) does not hinder. In Church to behave himself always very reverently, nor ever turn his back upon the Altar in service time, nor on the minister, when it can be avoided. To stand at the Lessons and Epistle, as well

as at the Gospel, and especially when a Psalm is sung; To bow reverently at the name of Jesus, whenever it is mentioned in any of the Church's offices; To turn towards the East when the *Gloria Patri* and the Creeds are rehearsing; and, To make obeisance at coming into and going out of the Church, and at going up to and coming down from the Altar, —are all ancient, commendable, and devout usages, and which thousands of good people of our Church practise at this day, and amongst them, if he deserves to be reckoned amongst them, T. W.'s dear friend.

"IX. When he has a cure of souls, T. W. is earnestly desired to celebrate a Communion as often as he can get 'a convenient number to communicate' with him, and to urge his people to the frequent performance of *that* more than other Christian duty, it being indeed the end of all the rest, as well as the chief of them all; and in the meantime never to miss any opportunity of receiving that offers itself in the place where he resides. No, not to turn his back when he sees the Holy Elements upon the Altar, though he knew not there would be a Communion till he came into Church.

"X. To avoid in his sermons all deep and unuseful speculations, all matters of controversy that do not necessarily offer themselves, and all juvenile affectation of fine language, wit, and learning. St. Paul, his King, and his own discretion will direct him, and therefore he needs none else to counsel him.

"XI. As to his usual conversation and behaviour; the Apostle tells him that a Deacon must be *grave*, which seems to direct what his garb should be, what places he should refrain going to, from what kind of company he should abstain, and how he should demean himself in company; neither should such books be usually read or delighted in, or such persons be chosen for companions, or such places be frequented by a clergyman, as appear profane, atheistical, or disserviceable to religion.

"But he is especially advised to forbear conversing frequently and familiarly with that sex which gives the most temptation, and the most to unmarried clergymen, seeing we are commanded to 'abstain from all appearance of evil.'"

All things considered, this is surely a very remarkable

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One shall hardly now-a-days find an example of so many of the great Church services studiously combined, except, it may be, in some colonial territory, where episcopal visits are few and far between.

Again, what a number of rules are dispensed with, rather than anything should be allowed to put off Wilson's ordination! Besides his defect in age, he is not even required to wait until the next Ember season. The ordination is appointed for him, and for him only, on a day that might seem already quite overcrowded with work. His special friend is nominated Archdeacon for the occasion; and what is strangest of all, he is ordained without a title. One is led to ask one's-self what is there so extraordinary in this young man, the Cheshire farmer's son, that a whole diocese, naturally unconnected with him, should so rise up as it were to meet him? And all the while they were preparing a help not for themselves or their Church, but for another island, another people altogether. Such are the inscrutable ways of Providence; "the dew" is drawn up from "Hermon," and falls not in the same place, but far down, "on the hill of Sion."

With regard to the Title, it would appear by the two friends reading over (among other things) "the canons of *both* Churches," that Wilson at that time contemplated employment in Ireland. But no cure nor parish is anywhere mentioned, and the scholarship undoubtedly was not a title. There must have been some good and weighty reasons for such an unusual favour, so publicly conferred. Hewetson and Bishop

Moreton were neither of them persons likely to act in such a matter from mere partiality. For the former, the paper itself speaks sufficiently; of the latter, it is enough to say he was the trusted chaplain of the noble and loyal Duke of Ormonde, who in 1677 brought him into Ireland[u], and made him Dean of Christchurch; to which, in 1681, he added the bishopric of Kildare, he being allowed to hold the deanery *in commendam* by reason of the poverty of the see; and I believe they have been always so holden together until the diocese merged in that of Dublin by the act of 1833. "In the troubled times of James II. Bishop Moreton retired with his family to England, and during that period lost all his income." This refers, of course, to the early part of 1689, when seven bishops—the coincidence with our own case is remarkable—were attainted by James's Irish parliament for withdrawing themselves from his authority. But the beginning of those troubles was discernible enough at the time of Wilson's ordination. For in that same year, 1686, Tyrconnel was made Lord Lieutenant, and the King's designs began to be pressed in a violent and alarming way. We may well believe that it was an object with an earnest prelate then and there to secure to the Church of England and her ministry so promising a student as Wilson had shewn himself. Moreover, the Bishop's father may not improbably have been a personal friend, and himself an acquaintance, of Wilson's uncle, the good Dr. Sherlock, as they had undoubtedly suffered in the same cause.

Besides the paten which has been mentioned, there exists another precious little relic of Wilson's ordination day, the little memorandum-book which his friend gave him soon after the ceremony, having first inserted in his own handwriting the foregoing account of that day's proceedings. It is a very small duodecimo, bound in black leather, with brazen clasps, and answers exactly to the description given of it by Cruttwell. "Mr. Wilson set a great value on it, carefully preserved it, and continued to enter in it minutes of such occurrences as he thought worthy of notice, as well as his prayers on particular occasions." The occurrences for the most part are entered at one end of the book, the prayers at

[u] Wood, Ath. Oxon., ii. 680.

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the other; between them both, however, they fall very short of filling up the whole book, 158 pages. It seems that when this was not in the way, he just took up some other vacant MS. book, and inserted the prayer or memorandum where he found room for it. And so it came to pass that his *Sacra Privata* diffuse themselves through four or five volumes, of which the original, and in some respects the most interesting, is this gift of Hewetson's.

It contains the following prayer, used by him for many years on the anniversary of his ordination. Cruttwell says of it, "Our pious divine ever after kept the day, and poured forth his heart to God in a particular prayer on the occasion."

"*On St. Pet. day, w^n^ I was ordained Deacon,* 1686.

"1 Tim. iii. 8, 9, 10. Likewise must the Deacons be graue, not double tongu'd, not giuen to much wine, not greedy of filthy lucre.

"1 Tim. iv. 12, 13, &c.; vi. 20, 21. Read y^e^ whole office for ordering of Priests.

"THE PRAYER.

"*Out of the Church Liturgie.*

"Alm. God, who of Thy g^t^ love to mankind hast given Thy Son J. X^t^. to be the author of everlasting life, who having perfected our redemption, sent abroad into y^e^ world His Apostles, Prophets, Evangelists and Pastors, by whose ministry He gathered together a Flock in all parts of y^e^ world, to set forth y^e^ praise of Thy Name; for those, so gr^t^ benefits of Thy Eternall goodness, and for y^t^ Thou hast vouchsafed to call me (tho' very unworthy of y^e^ gr^t^ hon^r^) to y^t^ same office and ministry; I render unto Thee my most hearty thanks, most humbly beseeching Thee by y^e^ same Thy Bless'd Son, That as Thou hast given me a will, so Thou woudst give me power and strength to serve Thee in y^e^ sacred ministry of Thy Church, unto w^ch^ I was, as on this day, called.

"To this end give me, O Lord God, I humbly beg, a *wise,* a *sober,* a *patient,* an *understanding,* a *devout,* a *religious,* a *courageous Heart;* y^t^ I may instruct y^e^ ignorant, reclaim y^e^ vicious, bear w^th^ y^e^ infirmities of y^e^ weak, comfort y^e^ afflicted, confirm y^e^ strong, y^t^ I may be an example of true picty and sincere relig^n^—y^t^ I may constantly speak y^e^ truth, boldly re-

buke vice, and chearfully suffer for righteousness sake. Let my grt Lord and Master,—let His example be always before my eyes; let my days be spent in doing good, in visiting ye sick, and helping their infirmities; in composing of differences; in preaching ye glad tidings of salvation, and in all ye works of mercy and charity by wch I shall be judg'd at ye last day.

"Give me grace and courage yt I may never desert my calling, tho' I shd never meet wth encouragement from ye good things of this world; but let my heart and my desires be there fixed where true joyes are to be found, and rewards laid up for those that serve Thee faithfully.

"Grant, O Lord, yt I may do nothing unbecoming an immediat servant and follower of Xt, give me strength against all temptations, and especially agst such as wd draw me to dishonr Thee, and my holy Profession, yt by me, and by all those over wm I shall be appointed Thy Minister, Thy H. Name may be glorify'd, Thy kingdome enlarg'd; and yt wn I shall have preach'd to othrs I myself may not be a castaway.

"Bless, O Gracious God, all those yt labr wth me in this grt harvest; Thou hast sent forth labourers, O prosper Thou our handy work; bless all degrees and orders in Thy holy Church, all Bis'ps, Priests, and Deacons, yt in all places they may set forth Thy glory, and set forwd ye salvation of all men; give us all grace, yt we may often and seriously lay to heart ye nature and importance of our calling; yt these thoughts may make us diligent and zealous, and yt our zeal may ever be concerned in matters of real moment.

"O God, look mercyfully down upon this Church in wch I serve at Thine altar; purge all its members from all Atheism, Heresie, Schisme, Superstition, and Profaneness.

"And since Thou hast appointed me to live in these times, in wch the salvation offer'd by Xt Jesus is either despis'd, or made ineffectuall, by divisions of contending parties; grant, O Lord, that I may never be ashamed of Thy Gospel, but rather suffer as becomes a good Xn. That I may keep myself stedfast in ye true faith, and not be toss'd about with any wind of false doctrine, or the craft of men.

"O God, who hatest nothing yt Thou hast made, have mercy

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"In an humble confidence y^t^ Thou, O God, wilt graciously receive y^e^ petitions of all those who in y^e^ Name of Jesus X^t^ call upon Thee; in His Name and for His sake, I most humbly offer these my supplications and prayers, this day of my ordination; beseeching Thee to say Amen to these my desires, and to all other my petitions w^ch^ I shall offer, *according to Thy will, to Thy Divine Majesty.*

"Octob^r^ 20, 1689, I was ordained Preist."

He adds a memorandum, that this was to be said "*On Wednesday, Fryday, and Saturday in y^e^ Ember weeks.*"

It may be a question whether this form, just as it stands, was composed at the time. Dr. Wilson, the Bishop's son, evidently thought that it was, for in the MS. the phrase, "Unto which I was *as on this day* called," is altered by his hand into "Unto which I *am* on this day called." One cannot understand his venturing on such an emendation, unless he was sure of the fact. In any case, the prayer no doubt expresses the mind in which Bishop Wilson became a clergyman, and in which, during his diaconate, he prepared himself for the priesthood. For it was certainly written and used before he was made a priest, that memorandum being a later insertion in a corner of the MS., and in different ink.

CHAPTER II.

FROM HIS ORDINATION AS DEACON TO HIS BECOMING BISHOP OF SODOR AND MAN, 1686—1697.

"ALTHOUGH," as Cruttwell says, "the exact time of Wilson's leaving Ireland is not known, yet thus much is understood, that he quitted the University sooner than he at first intended, on account of the political and religious disputes of those days." This Cruttwell states as "from private information," doubtless that of Dr. Wilson. Now in Hewetson's Memorandum-book, p. 7*, is a fragment (in parts so

defaced as to be illegible) of a paper which may probably be referred to that date. It purports to be inserted by Wilson himself, (though not, I think, in his own handwriting,) for it is headed, "Part of a letter of my dearest friend Mr. Mich. Hewetson, concerning praying for the king" (James II.) "in the Litany."

"We pray y^{t} God would 'keep and strengthen' him in y^{e} profession of y^{e} X^{n} Religion, both as oppos'd to Gentilism, and Judaism, and to Atheism; for so y^{e} following words ('in Righteousness') do import; The X^{n} Ch. having bin used all along to pray in such terms for her princes; and y^{e} Litany, y^{e} most ancient X^{n} form of prayer (next o^{r} Lord's) y^{t} is extant . . . . y^{t} y^{e} Ch. is to be understood thus, appeares both from her never making any distinction between Protestant and Papist, or any other denomination of X^{ns}, and from her other prayers for y^{e} K.; particularly we are taught to pray for . . . . X^{n} Kings, &c. Besides w^{ch} we own o^{r} K. to be y^{e} Defender of y^{e} Faith, &c. . . . It explains and warrants o^{r} praying y^{t} God w^{d} 'keep and strengthen him,'" &c.

Here we seem to have a sample of the difficulties which in revolutionary times are apt to beset a young clergyman making a conscience of his prayers. We are reminded also of the true and primitive way of dealing with those difficulties. Occasions of scruple, he implies, are not to be peevishly aggravated, but the words and things which cause them are to be explained calmly and charitably, by other places in the formularies, and by ancient authorities.

Further, I think we may probably conjecture from this fragment, as far as it goes, that Wilson's own bias was strong on the anti-Roman side, and might have swayed him too far that way had he lacked such an adviser as Hewetson to keep him up to the primitive standard in all things.

He quitted the University, however, and Ireland also; not, we may be sure, without the consent of the prelate who had just shewn him so high a mark of confidence, and who, some two years after, found it necessary to do the same. Providentially his uncle, Dr. Sherlock, was able at that time to provide him with a cure and a maintenance. The parish of Winwick at that time included at least three chapelries, which are now entirely distinct from it; Newton, which was

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a perpetual curacy under separate patronage, Ashton-le-Willows, and Newchurch Kenyon, for the latter of which, being five miles from the rectory, Sherlock accepted Wilson as his curate. It must have been then a small rural village, now it is a rectory with a population of 2,500 souls, comprising two townships, Kenyon and Culchett, in the latter of which the church stands. It is a plain structure, rebuilt, all but the tower, since the time of Wilson's ministry, and contains nothing which we can suppose to have met his eye, except the altar-table and sacred vessels, (the latter an offering from Dr. Sherlock,) and an ancient brass, recording the burial of one of the Holcrofts, "an ancestor" (says my informant[x]) "of the spoiler of monasteries, whose family place, hard by, is now a mere farm-house." I may be allowed to add, that the very name of Newchurch, continued as it is in that district, is in some sense a relic of Wilson. For when the Act of Parliament was to be obtained for making these townships a separate parish, it was to have been called the parish of Culchett. But it was suggested to the noble patron, the present head of the house of Stanley, that it would be almost a profanation to let the name of Newchurch die, and he allowed the new parish to be called Newchurch, in reverence for the place where a great and good man first ministered in the Church.

To this curacy Wilson was licensed Feb. 10, $168\frac{6}{7}$, according to his own account in the *Sacra Privata*, not, as Mr. Cruttwell has it, on the 10th of the preceding December. Mr. Cruttwell took his account, no doubt, from Hewetson's "Memorandum-book," in which the first entry after the paper on the ordination, and the very first which is certainly in Wilson's own hand, runs thus: "*Decembr*. 10, 1686, I was Lycenced by Tho. Lord Bp. of Chester to be Curate of Newchurch, in the parish of Winwick, Dr. Sherlock being Rector." But in *Sacra Privata*, subsequently written, he has twice set down, "I was licensed Curate of Newchurch, *Feb.* 10, 1686."

The date is further ascertained by an entry in Bishop Cartwright's Diary, edited for the Chetham Society:—"1687,"

[x] William Beamont, Esq., of Warrington, who will excuse the liberty taken in thus naming him, with many thanks for valuable help.

(he was using the modern computation,) "February 10, I was in the Consistory, and Mr. Venables dined with me, and Mr. Thompson, Mr. Newcomb, Mr. Waite and uxor, Mr. Callis. I gave a licence to Thomas Wilson, B.A., deacon, to be Curate of Newchurch in Winwick, upon Dr. Sherlock's letter."

It may seem strange, but many aged persons, I imagine, may well understand how he may have mistaken the date even of so important an event, especially after an active and stirring life. Probably he may have confounded in memory the time when his uncle nominated him with the time when he was formally licensed. And this agrees well with what we have before seen, that his residence in Dublin must have terminated about Oct. 2, 1686; the interval between that and Dec. 10 would not be too much to allow for the voyage to England and other arrangements, preparatory to his becoming Sherlock's curate.

Wilson's stipend at Newchurch was £30 *per ann.*, only one-third more than what had sufficed him at the University. But as he lived with his uncle in the parsonage at Winwick, and was an excellent economist, he was enabled out of this small allowance to set apart one-tenth for charitable purposes, if indeed he had not done so from the first hour that he had anything which could be called an income, that is, from his first going to the University; for so much seems to be implied in a memorandum dated 1693, when he was leaving Winwick for Knowsley: "Having *hitherto* but given a tenth of my *incomes*," (the plural seems used purposely, to denote all his means from whatever source,) "I do for the future purpose to give" so much more.

The earliest entry on the subject in his existing papers[y] shews that the setting aside of money for alms was with him a devotional act, a solemn sacrifice. It consists of the following prayer, "*Before laying aside of Almes for ye Poor*," with certain texts prefixed.

"It is by Thy bounty and providence, O God, yt I want nothing wch is needfull eithr for my soul or body; Be pleas'd in mercy to receive this small acknowledgment of my thank-

[y] M. H., p. vii. Cf. Cruttwell's Life, p. ix., and Sacra Privata, 234. (This edition.)

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fulness for y^e^ many favours w^ch^ by Thy goodness I every day meet with, and give me grace y^t^ while I am able, I never turn away my face from any poor man, y^t^ Thy face and y^e^ light of Thy countenance may never be turn'd away from me. O Lord my God! whatever I have prepared for Thy poor cometh of Thee, and of Thy own do I give Thee. Pardon all my vain expences, and teach me so to husband the riches w^th^ w^ch^ I am blessed, that I may always have wherewith to offer a testimony of my duty and gratitude to my great Benefactor, to be bestowed on those poor people whom Thou shalt direct me to relieve. And grant, O Lord, that if ever it should be Thy pleasure to change my circumstances into a worse condition, give me grace y^t^ I may bear it patiently, knowing assuredly y^t^ my treasure is in heaven, to w^ch^ place I most humbly beseech Thee to bring me for y^e^ sake of J. X^t^. Amen."

"The manner in which he made this dedication was," we are informed[z], "as follows:—On the receipt of all monies, he regularly placed the portion designed by himself as well as what was given him by others for charitable uses, in the drawer of a cabinet, with a note of the value, to be kept sacred for the use of the poor, and on no account whatever to be touched for any other purpose. The form of the note, as follows, is copied from the original: 'Jan. 29, 1750. Put into this drawer Twenty Pounds British, being one year's money, the bounty of the Right Honourable the Lady Eliz. Hastings, for the year, and payable at Martinmas, 1750. Thomas Sodor and Man.' If the money placed there was his own, the note differed only in distinguishing from whence, or how, the money had been paid to him. And into this sacred repository, called 'the Poor's Drawer,' at first a tenth, then a fifth, a third, and at length the half of his revenues, were placed; and whenever he deposited the poor man's portion, he did it with the same awe and reverence as if it had been an offering to Heaven."

In Wilson's several memorandum-books, this prayer exists in four several forms, and is a good specimen of his practice of re-writing his devotional pieces over and over with slight

[z] Cruttwell, p. viii., on the authority (no doubt) of Dr. Wilson, the Bishop's son.

variations, rather than composing fresh ones for the time being, which to many (Bishop Taylor, for example) seems to have approved itself as the more natural way. Doubtless Wilson's feeling in this, as in many other characteristic practices, was eminently that of our most genial poet :—

> "The child is father to the man,
> And I could wish my days to be
> Bound each to each by natural piety."

Wilson's skill in medicine.

Another department of active charity in which Bishop Wilson was eminent throughout his pastoral life was administering medical aid to those who stood in need of it. For this he was especially qualified, having been at first intended (as we have seen), and in part educated, for the medical profession. And he made it, as might be expected, matter of special devotion. The precious Memorandum-book contains two prayers, written seemingly about the same time with that on giving of alms. The first is headed, "Before I administer Physick."

"Great God! in whose hands are the issues of life and death, y^e^ skill of men, and y^e^ powers of nature, I most humbly implore Thy blessing upon my advice and endeavoures for y^e^ health of those poor people, who shall at any time stand in need of my advice and assistance; more especially I beseech Thee to prosper the methods I now take, and the medicines I am going to give; take from them all hurtful and dangerous qualities and effects, y^t^ if it be Thy good pleasure they may prosper in my hands; let not this person to whom I administer suffer more by my want of skill than *he* would have done by *his* poverty. But above all, O Thou great Physitian of soules! grant y^t^ the sickness of *his* body may contribute to y^e^ health of *his* soul: give *him* grace to consider y^t^ this indisposition is from Thy Providence ordering all things for y^e^ good of Thy creatures; and let those thōhts work in *him* a Reformation answerable to Thy gr^t^ ends in afflicting *him;* that whenever Thy will is that *his* soul shall depart from y^e^ body, it may without spot be presented unto Thee, thro' the merits of J. X^t^. Amen."

This is followed by "Thanksgiving for Good Success," composed, however, as the hand-writing indicates, at some later time.

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Wisdom xvi. 12, 13. "For it was neither herb nor mollyfying Plaister y^t^ restored y^m^ to health; but Thy Word, O Lord, y^t^ healeth all things; for Thou hast power of life and death, Thou leadest to y^e^ gate of hell, and bringest up again."

"I give Thee most hearty thanks, *O Thou great Physitian, and Healer of all our infirmities;* that Thou dost so often give good success to my endeav^rs^ for y^e^ health of those who stand in need of my help. Thy power, O God, is unlimited, and Thou canst now as well as heretofore, *call men from y^e^ bed of sickness* without y^e^ nãal aids of Physick; but since Thou art pleased y^t^ Thy blessing shall *now* attend y^e^ ordinary meanes, I acknowledge Thy gr^t^ favour to me, y^t^ Thou hast put it into my power to do good this way; may I always, *great God*, in all humility own Thy hand in every good work I do; and nev^r^ dare to ascribe y^t^ to my self, w^ch^ belongs to Thee, and y^t^ grace, to w^ch^ I owe all in me y^t^ is praiseworthy; for w^ch^ all praise and glory be to God. Amen."

Wilson at Winwick.

Wilson remained curate of Newchurch nearly six years; from the beginning of December 1686, to nearly the end of August 1692. But of the doings of the future author of *Parochialia* in this his first pastoral charge, no detailed record or memorial remains. Only we may be quite sure that, as it could not but be a most critical, so by God's good providence it was a most blessed period of his life; spent as it was when at home under the roof, and when at work under the influence and direction, and no doubt after the pattern, of the wise and venerable Dr. Sherlock, of whom Wilson himself has recorded that "he always entertained in his house at least three curates for the service of his church and chapels. So that both on account of the Doctor's primitive example, as also the choice he made of persons to serve at the altar, Winwick became a very desirable place for young Divines to improve themselves in the work of the ministry." Winwick Rectory thus comes before us a sort of Priests' Home, or Parochial College, a centre of spiritual light and charity to the whole of that large district: which arrangement might perhaps be copied with advantage oftener than it is in our crowded and destitute places.

Sherlock's first extraordinary care on coming to his parish

had been to write plain Tracts for his people on the Church Catechism and on Christian Practice, (for, like his nephew, he was only moved to become an author by the actual needs of those committed to his charge): his second, to "bring them to a decent uniformity in the public worship of God," by his devout example, and by a holy boldness and zeal. For thirty years he practised strict residence, overflowing bounty, temperance almost or quite ascetic, and (especially) unwearied devotion; solemnizing the public service in the church daily, morning and evening, and keeping the hours of prayer by day and by night in his private chapel—a room, I suppose, in the Rectory, set apart for that purpose. All this, to Wilson in particular, must have been as bracing air, inuring him to a holy and austere boldness, so rare in conjunction with a frank benevolence like his, but so necessary in the circumstances which he was destined to pass through. Nothing is more evident in the brief sketch which the Bishop long afterwards wrote of Dr. Sherlock's life, than the deep impression he had received and retained of the severities which his uncle practised on himself, and of the courageous charity which he shewed in rebuking offenders, and we know not how much those recollections may have helped him in his own hard conflicts in later years.

At the time of Wilson's coming it would seem that Sherlock had begun to be unequal to his full work by reason of age. He was then seventy-three, and we are given to understand that when he grew into years he ceased to be so constant a preacher as he had been. But in other respects his nephew and curate had doubtless the full benefit of intercourse with him.

Of Wilson's fellow-curates, either in Winwick or in the three chapelries depending on it, viz. Ashton, Newton, and Newchurch, but a few names are preserved. One is Dr. or Mr. Allanson, nominated by Mr. Richard Legh, of Lyme, and licensed by Bishop Cartwright, Dec. 3, 1686, two months before Wilson, "to officiate at Newton Chapel, upon Dr. Sherlock's recommendation, in whose parish it is[a]." He was the same, probably, with "*Mr.* Edward Allanson of Newton," who proved so near and dear to Wilson as to have

[a] Bishop Cartwright's Diary.

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Two other names occur, Yates and Waring, who may have lived in the house with Wilson, but not in Dr. Sherlock's time; at least neither of them is mentioned in the register until some weeks after his death.

But the senior curate, Thomas Crane, was a man of some mark, being complimented by Antony Wood with the title of "This Divine." Wood adds, that "he was son of a father of both his names, of Lathom in Lancashire." He was of Brasenose College, M.A. 1670, and assisted there in some way by Sherlock[b], whose curate he became at latest by 1681, as the register of Winwick proves. In 1686 I find there among the burials, "August 30th, Margret" (*sic*) "the wife of Mr. Crane, Curate." From that time we may suppose him residing in the Rectory; and we know him to have been to the last so entirely in Sherlock's confidence, that he named him in his will, made only six days before his death, joint executor with Wilson and two others.

I may mention here, that in *Sacra Privata*, p. 40, together with the two Finches and Hewetson, Wilson mentions "Col. Cr." as an "honourable and worthy friend," for whom he was bound to give thanks as for one of God's "special favours." And Clarendon[c] speaks of an officer of the name of Crane as having borne part in Prince Rupert's successful onslaught on Essex's cavalry near Worcester in Sept. 1642, and as having been sent by the Prince to present the ensigns there taken to the King. If he settled afterwards in Lancashire, and was any connection of the above-mentioned Thomas

[b] In his Funeral Sermon he speaks of "some undeserved favours" done to him by Sherlock "when and whilst he was a student in the college." Short Account, &c., p. xxxvi.

[c] Hist. of Rebellion, ii. 601. 8vo., Oxford, 1819.

Crane, (who was himself, as we shall see, devotedly loyal to the Stuarts,) he or some one of his kinsmen might be the person here named. But I have not been able to trace him at all, much less to explain Wilson's obligation to him[d].

The latter, when he got his licence to Newchurch, was full twenty-three years old, and of course might canonically have been ordained priest the following Christmas. This was however deferred, eventually until after Sherlock's death, i. e. for nearly two years, Wilson being no doubt inclined to shrink from this additional trust, as at first from the sacred calling altogether. And this seems to have been anticipated by Hewetson, when he advised "his dear friend Tom Wilson, now entered into Holy Orders, to resolve to proceed in them." Sherlock was not the man lightly to overbear such scruples, or to abridge the time of preparation without great cause. And the clerical staff of Winwick, while he lived, was numerous enough to allow of Wilson's lingering in the lower degree without inconvenience.

To some date during those years of Wilson's diaconate we may perhaps refer the "Thanksgiving for St. Peter's Day, when my father and two of my brothers miraculously escaped drowning." In the Hewetson MS. it follows after that in commemoration of his admission to Holy Orders, the composition of which clearly preceded his priesthood; and it is followed by the "Morning and Evening Prayers for a Family," which were evidently composed before he went to the Isle of Man, and as he did not keep house himself until then, may have been prepared either for his father's house, or for Lord Derby's when he was chaplain there.

Perhaps one of the brothers whom he mentions may have been that Daniel Littler, who became his brother by marrying his sister Mary, March 31, 1689; who may have been a mariner, for so some of his name and kindred were after him. If so, the escape must have occurred, and the prayer have been written, within a few months of Wilson's ordination to the priesthood.

The prayer bears marks, I think, of having been composed for his father's family as well as for himself. They would

[d] Another conjecture as to the meaning of the abbreviation "Col. Cr." will be given further on.

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look to the young deacon as to a sort of director, especially as they came nearer the day of good Dr. Sherlock's departure.

It appears in *Sacra Privata*, but is inserted here also, as belonging so distinctly to an interesting part of the Bishop's history; to him doubly interesting, as it set a fresh providential mark on the day of his ordination.

"*A Thanksgiving for St. Peter's Day, when my Father and two of my Brothers most wonderfully escap'd being drownd.*

"O eternal and most mercifull God! who hast made us happy in the knowledge of Thy Providence, w^ch^ governs and preserves all things both in Heaven and Earth: by whose Goodness *my Father and two of my Brothers were, as on this day, delivered from sudden and untimely deathes*[e]; accept of my hearty thanks and praise, for this great mercy vouchsaf'd to the whole family; and grant y^t^ none of us may, while we live, forgett these wonderful expressions of Thy loving kindness *to us*, the most undeserving of all Thy People.

"We had sin'd many ways, ag^st^ Thee, O Lord, and this was a loud a distinct and mercifull call of Thine to every one of us to repentance, w^ch^ I most humbly beseech Thee give us grace to hear, to remember and obey.

"The greatest happ^ss^, O merciful Father, w^ch^ I can desire either for myself or those who were sharers in Thy great Deliverance, is w^t^ I now humbly beg for; that we may all of us gratefully resent Thy great Love to us; meditate on Thy tender Mercies, magnify Thy great and good Providence, and by these mighty Favors be reduced to an obedience becoming our Redemption.

"Pass by and pardon the Ingratitude we have any of us been guilty of, and give us grace to consider y^t^ by y^e^ mercifull goodness of God we are delivered from a world of dangers, w^ch^ would otherways overwhelm us.

"And according to Thy wonted mercies preserve us for y^e^ time to come to serve Thee; may y^e^ same watchfull Providence w^ch^ has before time defended us from such eminent (*sic*) dangers, guard us thro' the remainder of our dayes,

[e] These Italics, as in other places, imply perhaps that the words may be altered to suit other occasions.

thro' all the changes and chances of this mortal life; This I humbly beseech Thee to grant for Thy own goodness sake, and for the merits of our Saviour X^t Jesus. Amen."

"Praise y^e Lord, O my soul, and all y^t is within me praise His H. N.

"Praise y^e Lord, O my soul, and forget not all His Benefits. Who sav'd thy life from destruction.

"Lord w^t is man y^t Thou art mindfull of him? or y^e sons of men y^t Thou so regardest y^m?

"But w^t is my Father's house y^t Thou shoudst have such respect to so poor, so sinfull a cottage?

"I am oppress'd w^th the Load of mercies we have receiv'd fr. Thee."

Death of Dr. Sherlock.

But the happy arrangement, which thus gathered the clergy of that large parish as in a sort of sacred college, was not destined to last much longer.

In about two years and a-half, the good Dr. Sherlock was taken to his rest, in the seventy-sixth year of his age, June 20, 1689: and we may think of his nephew Thomas, who was to him in so many respects as a son, assisting at his funeral in the chancel of Winwick, in the spot which he had marked out for himself many years before, by causing his gravestone with a very striking inscription to be laid there: which spot also, as the young deacon well knew, had from that time been to the venerable priest a place of more particular but very secret devotion. And now it is a spot doubly sacred to all who are aware of the circumstances, being associated with Wilson's name as well as with Sherlock's. The monumental stone lies a little on the north side, below the altar steps, in the beautiful chancel of Winwick; and may it always remain, as hitherto, in the guardianship of those who well know how to value it!

The death of Dr. Sherlock is the first entry in Bishop Wilson's list of departed friends, under the heading, "Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord:"—"My kind and pious uncle, Dr. Richard Sherlock, died June 20, 1689." It occurred at a very critical period: for the Convention Parliament had passed the Act, whereby all ministers with cure of souls were enjoined to take the new oaths before the 1st of

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August, on pain of suspension for six months, to be followed by deprivation if they demurred at the end of that time. Now both Wilson himself in his Life of Sherlock, and Mr. Crane in his Funeral Sermon above-mentioned, appear to intimate that Sherlock's mind when he died was by no means made up to submit to the government which had just established itself. "He died," says Wilson, "some months after the Revolution, but before any measures were taken to try who did not approve of the ways engaged in to bring it about: so that," in his nephew's opinion, "it would be impertinent to say what he would have done, had he lived a few weeks longer, in a case in which he was exceedingly reserved." And then Wilson goes on to speak of his having "always preached up passive obedience and non-resistance in the sense of the Church in her Homilies," and of his having been the more earnest in such sentiments, because in his youth he "had been imposed on by the contrary sort." Mr. Crane also, in the conclusion of his Funeral Sermon, gives a hint of his own expectations as to Dr. Sherlock's conduct in that emergency. "He seemed to be weary of the world, and to wait for his dissolution, wherein his God hath gratified him, having brought him to his fathers, and in a good old age delivered him from the miseries of this sinful world, *it may be from much evil to come.*" The writer of this sentence was afterwards himself a Nonjuror, as appears from the notice of him in A. Wood's *Fasti*, and also by the list in the Appendix to Hickes's "Life of Kettlewell," No. vi.: though his Christian name is there given wrongly, as Mr. *John* Crane, Curate of Winwick.

The question therefore of adhering to the Revolution or no came before Mr. Wilson not without circumstances which must have ensured it a deep and fair consideration on his part; for no single authority could well be greater with him than that of his uncle, and it is clear that at least that authority was not decisively given in favour of conforming. On the other hand, his Irish friends, Bishop Moreton and Archdeacon Hewetson, thought it best, as we know, to conform: and so eventually he did himself; nor does he seem to have ever felt any misgiving on the matter. It would be interesting to know what his process of thought was at the

time. In his letter on the oath of Abjuration, 1724, he recommends conformity on a ground which could not be alleged at the time of the Revolution itself,—the decided acquiescence in the new settlement of Parliaments and Judges ever since.

Wilson ordained Priest.

If he had any scruples at the time, they did not last long; for he was ordained Priest the same year, the twenty-first Sunday after Trinity, Oct. 20, by the newly appointed Bishop of Chester, Nicholas Stratford: whose predecessor Cartwright died April 15, in Dublin, whither he had gone in the train of King James; and Stratford, then Dean of St. Asaph, had been included as Cartwright's successor in William's first nomination of Bishops. He was not consecrated until the 15th of September, which may account for his first ordination taking place at an uncanonical time. The supposed tone of his theology may be conjectured by the fact that his name appears among the prelates selected the same year to revise the Liturgy with a view to comprehension of Presbyterians. So that Wilson's presenting himself to him for ordination was a very unequivocal token of his entire adherence to the new Government.

His Title seems to have been, as before, the curacy or chapelry of Newchurch; which he continued to serve under the new Rector of Winwick, Thomas Bennet, then Fellow, afterwards Master, of University College, Oxford. By Wilson's account, Mr. Bennet had been promised the next presentation[f] of Winwick three years before Sherlock's death: whereupon Sherlock "immediately invited him down into the country, and without being offended at the sight of his successor, he not only received him courteously, but thinking himself in his old age unequal for so great a burden, he desired him to accept a portion of the cure and the profits of that great rectory, reserving to himself a very moderate share of the income for his own future subsistence." Whether this arrangement took place we are not informed; but it seems probable that Wilson, who just before had become one of his uncle's curates and an inmate of Winwick Rectory, and who therefore writes about the proposal of his own

[f] "Advowson" Wilson calls it; apparently by a clerical error.

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knowledge, would when the vacancy occurred be regarded as having a sort of claim to continue his abode in the parsonage as well as his cure of Newchurch. And so he went on for about three years more: his regular stipend being still £30 a-year, of which, as has been said, he regularly devoted one-tenth to the poor; so that at least it was not the greatness of his preferment that made him unwilling to be a Nonjuror. Neither did his uncle's will add much to his income. All he took by it was a legacy of £10, "with a mourning ring of 20*s.* price:" the remainder of the estate, after sundry small legacies to kinsmen and servants, being "equally divided to the families of Thomas Sherlock of Winwick, William Sherlock of Oxton in Werrall, Richard Sherlock of Oxford, and Samuell Aynsworth my Steward." And if Wilson had been residuary legatee, it would have made no great difference; for, as he himself reports, "Any worldly aim or concern had so little share in the good Dr. Sherlock's affections, that after he had been for so many years possessed of one of the best livings in England, at his death he left behind him not above one year's profits, and even these in a great measure to pious uses[g]."

Wilson being now a Priest, his name begins to appear in the Winwick register, which at that time names the officiating minister in marriages only; and we may infer that Sherlock, and probably his nephew likewise, thought it less fitting for a Deacon to solemnize matrimony. The first entry with his name dates Nov. 24, 1689; the last, Aug. 25, 1692.

Excepting the death of a brother, James, aged 41, who was buried at Burton, July 24, 1691, (the first of his family afflictions, as far as we know,) and the marriage of a sister, Mary, to Daniel Littler, March 31, 1689, nothing at all has been, nor probably can be, gleaned towards his biography for nearly three years ensuing,—from Oct. 1689, to August 1692; three of the most interesting years, surely, of his whole life, being the only portion of it which he spent as a parish Priest in a parochial cure of souls. But who can doubt that it was all spent according to the promptings of the same tender and religious conscience which dictated the following resolutions at its commencement?

[g] See Appendix, No. I.

"Certain things to w^ch (after serious consideration) I think fit to oblige myself, in the beginning of my days, y^t I may not be tempted by any unworthy advantage, to sin against God, do violence to my conscience, scandalize that holy profession of y^e ministry, to w^ch it has pleased God to call me, nor bring a curse upon w^t it shall please Him to put into my hands.

"First, I resolve never to give any person any manner of Bribe or gift, nor make any manner of contract or promise for a Church preferment though never so good, and the consideration how inconsiderable soever it be.

"Secondly, that I will never give a bond of Resignation, upon any consideration whatever.—Being fully perswaded, y^t when God sees me fit for such an employment, He can bring me into it without subjecting me to these conditions, (w^ch I verily believe are unlawfull); and if I can never have any ecclesiasticall preferment, but upon these termes, I am satisfied 'tis God's will I should have none.

"Thirdly, (considering y^e scandal and injury of Pluralities to the Church,) I resolve never to accept of two Church Livings with cure of Soules (if such should ever be in my choice) though never so conveniently seated.

"Fourthly, I resolve, That whenever it shall please God to bless me w^th a parish and a cure of soules, I will reside upon it myself, and not trust y^t to a curate w^ch ought to be my own particular care."

A while after (as appears by the handwriting) he subjoined, "That I may not ensnare myself, by Residence I mean such as y^e Bp. of y^e Diocese shall determine, not only to be consistent w^th y^e laws of y^e land, but such as an honest conscientious man may venture his Salvation upon: because, for ought I know, some such cases there may be."

In the latest MS. of *Sacra Privata*, 236, this paper occurs with certain significant variations, as in the note below [h].

[h] From Sacra Privata, MS. i. p. 236. (The letters mark the various readings.)

"*Obligations.* Certain things to which (God[s] assisting me) I oblige[t] myself in the beginning of my days, that I may not be tempted by any worldly[u] advantage to sin against God, do violence to my conscience, scandalize [v] my holy profession, nor bring a curse upon what it shall please God[x] to put into my hands.

"First, I resolve never to give any[y] bribe or consideration, promise, contract, &c. for any Church preferment, though never so good, and the consideration be[z] it never so inconsiderable.

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The collation may throw light on a very instructive circumstance in Wilson's character—his prudent and charitable way of dealing with himself, and so leaving himself no excuse if he swerved from the rules which he had solemnly adopted as his own.

Their reality was very soon put to the test. In the *Sacra Privata* this paper is followed immediately by the following: "N. B. Pursuant to these obligations, when the Rectory of Groppenhall was offer'd me by Mr. W^m^ Woods, with a bond of Resignation when Mr. Boardman sh^d^ be qualify'd, he being an infant, I refused it." From the place which this occupies in Wilson's memoranda, one might gather that it occurred while he was yet curate of Newchurch, before his connection with the Derby family; and the list of nonjuring clergymen subjoined to the "Life of Kettlewell" includes "Mr. *Thomas* Boardman of Gropnall in Cheshire." Ormerod also[i] speaks of "the vacancy of *William* Boardman caused by *departure*." This makes the date unquestionable: the mistake in the Christian name being of no account. It might seem a kindly thing, to secure the interest of "an infant" under such circumstances: but Wilson's resolution was proof against such plausibilities, and he never repented of it. Groppenhall, or Grappenhall, is in Cheshire, about three miles south of Warrington, and must have been to a person in Wilson's circumstances a desirable benefice, according to the usual measures of such things. One is led to conjecture that the W^m^ Woods who offered it to him might be the same whom we have found him mentioning as

"Secondly, I will never give a bond of resignation upon any consideration whatever: being fully persuaded that when God sees me fit for any such employment, He can bring me to it without subjecting myself to any[a] unwarrantable conditions. And if I never can have any ecclesiastical preferment but upon these terms, I am satisfied it is God's will I should have none.

"Thirdly, considering the scandal[b] and suspicious case of Pluralities[c], I resolve never to accept of two Church livings with cure of souls, if such should ever be in my choice: though never so conveniently[d] situated.

"Fourthly, I resolve that whenever it shall please God to order[e] me a cure of souls, I will reside upon it myself: and not to trust that to a curate, which ought to be by my own particular . . . in which I will be bound by . . . . and a good conscience. [A few words torn off.]

[i] Hist. of Cheshire, i. 446. Thomas is the right name. The place continued vacant until July 29, 1690, when the patron, John Bordman, "Generosus," presented Henry Walmsley, M.A. On whose resignation John Bordman, M.A., was presented by Nicholas Starkie, Esq., of Bolton, patron *pro hac vice*, Nov. 12, 1696. Wilson then might have held the benefice six years. Ex Registr. Cestr.

his comrade or playmate in an adventure of his childhood, when he was in danger from gunpowder.

In the third year of Wilson's priesthood, May 1692, the rectory of Winwick became again vacant by the death of Dr. Bennet at Oxford. He was succeeded by the Hon. and Rev. Henry Finch, brother of that Daniel, Earl of Nottingham, who took such an influential part in the politics of the day, and was at that time Secretary of State. His presentation by the Earl of Derby bears date July 15[k]. He seems to have come very quickly into residence: and Wilson's last ministration at Newchurch, so far as the register informs us, was marrying a couple, on Aug. 28. So that he must have been for a month Finch's curate also: and thus began an acquaintance which ripened, as we shall see afterwards, into most affectionate friendship.

But in that same August, 1692, an event had happened which in a temporal sense changed the colour of Wilson's whole after life. He accepted from William, ninth Earl of Derby, an appointment to be his domestic chaplain, and tutor to his only son, James Lord Strange.

It may be well here to pause and take a brief glance at the position and recent history of the house of Stanley at that time.

Digression on the Derby Family.

The Great Earl, James, having passed into England to join the King in the unfortunate campaign which terminated in the battle of Worcester, made his will, Aug. 1, 1651; the very first provision in it standing as follows[l]: "I give and bequeath to my most gratious Sovereigne and liege Lord Charles, the second of that name, one cupp of fine gold of the vallue of one hundred pounds, humbly beseechinge his Majesty, if God shall call me out of the worlde before I see my estate settled, by His grace and favour my cheife honour and estate may discend upon my sonne Edward and his issue male, and in default of him upon my sonne William and his issue male, or in default of any such issue upon my daughter

[k] This appears by an extract from the Chester Episcopal Register, for which, as for the former, I am indebted to the Rev. E. D. Green.

[l] From the York Registry, by favour of the Rev. F. R. Raines of Milnrow.

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Mary, and her two sisters Katherine and Amelia successively, and this by reason of my just sence against Charles my eldest sonne for his disobedience to his Majesty in the matter of his marriage, as his Majesty well knows, and for his goeing to joyne with the rebells of England att this tyme, to the greate greife of his parents, by which he hath brought a stayne upon ther blood if he were permitted to inheritt: but by his Majesty's great goodness this may be prevented, if according to this humble desire of myne in the manner before and hereafter expressed his Majesty will approve thereof, for soe the untainted honour of a loyall family shall be preserved in my posterity."

What the amount was of Lord Strange's adhesion to the rebels I have nowhere seen exactly set down. One would wish to believe that it went no further than remaining quiet at Knowsley, according to a proposal which had been made by Fairfax some time before. At any rate, it enabled him to have communication with his father, then a prisoner at Chester, and preparing for his martyrdom, (I cannot call it by any other name); at which time he gave explanations or expressed sentiments which so far satisfied the Earl, that he wrote to the Countess, Oct. 1651, "My son with his spouse, and my nephew Stanley, have come to see me; of them all I will say nothing at this time, excepting that my son shews great affection, and is gone to London with exceeding concern and passion for my good; he is changed much for the better, I thank God, and would have been a greater comfort to me if I could have left him more, or if he had provided better for himself[m]."

This seems to shew that the indignation expressed in the will had passed away, in respect of the marriage as well as of the "joining with the rebels." As to Lord Strange, no child could manifest a deeper sense of duty to his parent.

"They appointed the Earl's execution to be at Bolton within four days, that he might not have time to appeal to Parliament. However, his son, the Lord Strange, having beforehand laid horses ready, rid post to London in one day and night, got his petition read in the junto, by Mr. Lenthall, the Speaker, (which no man else would read or receive); but

[m] From Seacome's Hist. of the House of Derby, p. 134, 4to.

Cromwell and Bradshaw had so ordered the matter, that when they saw the major part of the House inclined to allow the Earl's plea, as the Speaker was putting the question, eight or nine of them quitted the House, and those left in it being under the number of forty, no question could be put[n]. So the Lord Strange, seeing all endeavours to save his father fruitless and of no effect, for that the grandees had resolved upon and determined his death, with incredible speed returned to his father before the hour of execution. . . . His father embracing him with all the tenderness of natural love and affection, said to him, 'Son, I thank you for your duty, diligence, and best endeavours to save my life; but since it cannot be obtained, I must submit;' and kneeling down, said, *Domine, non mea voluntas sed Tua*[o]."

As was to be expected, after this we hear no more of the disinheriting clause in Earl James's will. There may have been a coolness, but there is nothing which implies an abiding breach in the family. When the Isle of Man had been finally wrested from the Countess, on her release and return to England she seems to have joined her son in compounding with the rebel government for the family estate, on terms, however, which compelled them to alienate a large portion of it. The young Earl retired at first to Bidston, near Birkenhead, then part of his patrimony, while his mother was permitted to shelter herself at Knowsley with her younger children. In 1653 they concurred in the sale of Bidston to a Mr. Steel, and the Earl found some sort of residence at Lathom, (the mansion, as all know, was in ruins,) where he remained until after the Restoration[p].

The following year, May 2, 1654, the great Countess made her last will: wherein, after bequeathing the bulk of her remaining property to her other sons and daughters, she simply says, "I give to my sonne, Charles Earl of Derby, five

[n] But see Commons' Journals, Oct. 14, 1651. "Mr. Speaker, by way of report, acquaints the House with a Letter he had just received from the Earl of Derby: and the question being put, that the said Letter be now read; the House was divided. The Yeas went forth. Sir Wm. Brereton, Mr. Ellys, Tellers for the Yeas: with the Yeas, 22. Mr. Bond, Maj. Gen. Harrison, Tellers for the Noes: with the Noes, 16. So it passed in the affirmative. A Letter from the Earl of Derby, of the 11th day of Oct. 1651, with a Petition therein inclosed, intituled, 'The humble petition of James Earl of Derby,' was this day read."

[o] Seacome's Hist., p. 138.

[p] Ormerod, ii. 259; Raines on Gastrell's "Notitia Cestriens.," i. 154.

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pounds." Does this mean that there was no relenting towards him? One may hope not; such feeling would probably have excluded all mention of him; and the common poverty of them all at that time would lie on him least heavily, so that she might well think it unnecessary to do more than just remember him. Yet under all the circumstances, the want of a kindly word in the will throws an unpleasant doubt on their relations at the time.

Within the same year, as years were then reckoned, the Earl had a son and heir born to him, William George Richard, Wilson's future patron; the event being thus entered in the Ormskirk register: "March 18th, 1654. William Lord Strange, son of Charles Earle of Derby, born at Lathom upon Sunday, March 18th, and baptized March 22, 1654—whom God preserve with Long Life and heaven at last, and soe prayeth Richard Grice." A pleasant touch of genial feeling in the Parliamentary registrar towards the old family!

In 1657 they were compelled to make a further reduction by the sale of the Earl's manor of Broughton, in Furness[q]; and if the transaction called him, as probably it might, into that neighbourhood, he must have passed very near Borwick-hall, in the parish of Warton, the residence of an old Cavalier, Sir Robert Bindloss, with whom at that time Richard Sherlock was residing as chaplain; and Sir Robert, though he deeply respected him, was, for a reason to be by and by detailed, looking out for some worthier preferment for him. Either then, or at no long time before or after, Sir Robert introduced Sherlock to Lord Derby, and he became his lordship's chaplain[r], and in less than three years his most intimate friend and adviser; in happy time for both parties, and eventually for Bishop Wilson, for the Isle of Man, and for the whole Church of England.

At Lathom Sherlock would meet with entire sympathy. Bishop Wilson himself bears testimony to the Earl, that he was "a true son and lover of the Church." And his trusted house-steward, Seacome,—a sufficient evidence in such matters,—describes him as "of great affability, courteous to all,

[q] Raines on Gastrell, ii. 527.

[r] Perhaps in 1658, for the Ormskirk register shews that in that year the place of almoner at Lathom was vacant: "July 4, 1658. Mr. John Lappage of Orms^ke, Chaplayne at Lathom, bur^d in my Lord of Derby's Chancell."

a good master, a kind landlord, and a loving friend and neighbour[s]." Nor is there any doubt that his Countess went along with him in all his good works. The old steward gives a characteristic account of her, justifying the Earl's choice so far against the opposition even of his parents, who had early in his life negotiated a marriage for him in a very different quarter, as the Ormskirk register again records: "September 5th, 1643, Anne, daughter to the Lord Cottington, *contracted to Charles Lord Strange*, buried in my Lord's Chancell." Lord Cottington, it may be noticed, stands named in Earl James' will as overseer, with the Earl of Arundel. But "Earl Charles," says the steward, "married to his Lady, Dorothy Helena Rupa, a German Lady of honorable family but small fortune; which she being sensible of, used all her endeavours to repair that defect by economy in her family and affairs." But indeed this was the least of her merits, as will appear further on.

In 1659, the Lady Amelia, Earl James's youngest daughter, being married to the first Marquis of Athol, (one of the most unflinching of Cavaliers,) came to live at Knowsley with her mother, and continued there until 1662[t]. It appears from the register that three of her children were born there. Through this lady, as is well known, the lordship of Man and the Isles came eventually to be vested in the Athol family.

At last came the Restoration; and the House of Stanley was of course one of the first to greet the sovereign, and to reclaim its standing in the country. Before Charles had landed at Dover, a proviso had been entered on the Lords' Journals, (May 23, 1660,) in behalf of the Earl of Derby, that "care should be taken when any bill came from the Commons, for the restoring him to any of his property which had been usurped by the regicides;" his house in London, for example, which had been occupied by Henry Martin. A special order was made for restoring the Isle of Man. On the 8th of June, "the Earl of Pembroke reported from the Committee of Petitions on the difference of the Earl and Countess Dowager of Derby, That the Committee chose to try an agreement rather than proceed in a legal way;"

[s] Seacome, p. 155.

[t] Ibid., p. 184.

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and both were well inclined, and so an agreement was made: "which good office of the Lords Commissioners the House approved of."

All went smoothly on so long as the question was of lands sequestered and not passed away to any other by himself. But in July a bill was brought in for restoring to the family certain manors in Flintshire—Hope, Mold, and Hawarden, —which had been sold to Serjeant Glynne, at great disadvantage, in the time of persecution; the bargain to be annulled, and the purchase-money repaid. The discussion on this measure continued through two long sessions, and terminated in a very remarkable way, May 19, 1662. Both Houses had passed it, not however without a strong protest in the Lords, but the Royal assent was refused, Clarendon making a long speech by the King's permission, in which he urged both the impolicy and injustice of so disturbing bargains once fairly concluded, and also that it would be a breach of two great acts, integral parts of the Restoration policy,—the Act of Indemnity, and that of Judicial proceedings,—and would greatly disturb the security of landed property.

There can be no doubt that these were the true grounds of what was done on that remarkable occasion, and that it is a mistake, though a very prevailing and not an unnatural one, to charge it on the King's caprice or ingratitude. But the sore remembrance of it continued as long as there were Earls of Derby of the elder branch. Earl Charles (who was present at the decision) appears by the Journals to have been "excused" attendance for a long time, if not always, after; not unwilling (unless I mistake his character) to have what the world would deem a fair plea for withdrawing into private life.

Within a few months afterwards the family came again into collision with the government, on the well-known case of William Christian, deservedly but illegally sentenced to death by the Supreme Court of the Isle of Man, for treason of the deepest dye against the Lord of the Isle. The illegality lying in this, that the Court had overruled Christian's plea of the Act of General Pardon and Indemnity, which, the judges held, extended to the Isle of Man. All men now, I suppose,

will grant that the Privy Council decided rightly; but considering the greatness of the crime, the wrongs of the house of Derby, and the feudal cast of the insular constitution, there was much excuse for the offending parties, and it is by no means necessary to attribute all to the vindictive and haughty temper of the Countess. Certainly her son, who was neither haughty nor revengeful, took part in Christian's arraignment, the despatch which gave occasion to it being signed by him at Lathom, Sept. 1662[u]. He was present at Whitehall, July 15, 1663, when the King heard the cause; but his mother had been called before a higher tribunal. She died at Knowsley the 22nd of the preceding March, and was "entombed" at Ormskirk, "in her own chancell, the 6th Aprill;" so says the register, adding, "Post Funera Virtus."

Meanwhile all care had been taken for the renovation of the Church in Man. The Earl's first measure when his claim to the island had been recognised, was to issue a commission to Sherlock and one other clergyman, with six laymen, for the full settlement of all matters ecclesiastical and civil to him appertaining in the island; with a special proviso that the lay commissioners were not to "hinder nor oppose, but forward, assist, and abet Richard Sherlocke and Samuel Hinde in what they should act by virtue of delegation from the Archdeacon of the said Isle," (Samuel Rutter, who had signed a paper to that effect, June 18,) "in order to the settlinge of religion and all ecclesiasticall affayres as they were in my late Father's tyme." This paper is dated from Derby House, Channel (? Canon) Row, Westminster, July 13, 1660, and it is remarkable that one of the witnesses to the execution of it is *William Christian*[x].

More entire confidence could not be shewn by one man towards another, than the Earl shewed towards his chaplain, both then and in all subsequent proceedings; and the co-operation of Archdeacon Rutter implies the full approval of the aged Countess, who clung to him as to the chosen friend and director of her lord. To her, indeed, it was mainly owing that the bishopric of Man was reserved for Rutter. In

[u] Historical Notcies, &c., prefixed to Peverill of the Peak, ed. 1853, p. 17.

[x] See the original in the Rolls' Office, Castletown.

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On his mother's death Earl Charles removed to Knowsley, and in the course of the next two years crowned his services to the Church of England by two of the best appointments

[y] pp. 245, 300.

ever made within her pale. The bishopric of Man had been vacant since May 1662, by the death of Rutter, who when he succeeded to it was evidently a worn-out man; and now the Earl, as it should seem, lost no time in supplying his place. Dr. Isaac Barrow, a fellow-sufferer with Sherlock in the rebellion, and uncle to the great preacher, was prevailed on to accept it, and was consecrated in Ely Chapel, London, July 5, 1663: his nephew and namesake preaching on the occasion. Of him more will have to be said by and by.

The Earl's other memorable nomination was that of Sherlock himself to the Rectory of Winwick. It took place, Bishop Wilson says, in 1664. The Crown, it seems, claimed the right of presenting; on what ground I have not been able to make out; but the Earl had interest enough to obtain that presentation for Sherlock. The vacancy was occasioned by the cession of a Mr. Jessop, who had got possession of the benefice in 1659, but seceded in 1662. Why the appointment was kept open so long does not appear. "Immediately after" Sherlock's institution, "upon the expiration of a lease of ninety-nine years, his living became one of the best in England." This, it may be noticed, was within a year of Wilson's birth; and it may be that his good uncle, thus suddenly raised to comparative opulence, regarded himself as providentially called to take special interest in that child from the beginning.

But of what he did for Winwick, and of what his friend the Earl went on doing, with Bishop Barrow as his adviser, for the Isle of Man, this is not the place to speak. Earl Charles's good and gentle career proved altogether but a short one. He died in 1672. "Carolus Comes de Derbie, Dignissimus et honoratissimus, vitam fatis apud Knowsleye vicesimo primo die Decembris pie ac sanctissime reddidit; propriaque sua Capella in Ecclesia Ormiskirkiensi vicesimo nono Januarii fuit tumulatus, Regi, patriæ, et Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ, Deploratus[z]." One of his latest noticeable acts was the publication of a small pamphlet, occasioned perhaps by the alarm which was spreading over the country at that time, as the King's disgraceful compact with France and the papal

[z] Ormskirk Register.

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party began more and more to disclose itself. It addresses itself chiefly to the semi-political question of the Supremacy, being "dedicated to all Supreme Powers by what titles soever dignified or distinguished, i. e. to Emperors . . . Republicks," &c.; and proves, in "a Dialogue between Orthodox a Royalist, and Cacodæmon, one popishly affected," that "the Protestant Religion is a sure Foundation and Principle of a True Christian and a good Subject, a great friend to Humane Society, and a Grand Promoter of all Virtues, both Christian and Moral." It is given in his name, "By Charles Earl of Derby, Lord of Mann and the Isles;" and has subjoined to it a Reprint of "an Answer to 'the Humble Apology of the English Catholic 1666;'" chiefly enumerating the disloyalties of the Roman party. Although it came to a second edition, it cannot be said to have much literary merit, but it proves the religious earnestness of the writer, and the possibility of sympathizing and acting with such as Sherlock, and yet being true to the Reformed Church: it prepares us also to find the Derby family conforming to the movement of 1688.

His Countess survived him thirty years and more, living at Lathom and "diligently following every good work." Their children were many, and so were their bereavements: four were buried in their father's lifetime, between 1658 and 1664; and a daughter, Lady Mary, died in London a year and a-half after him.

Their eldest son and heir, William George Richard, not quite eighteen at the time of his father's death, was left by him under the guardianship of the Earl of Strafford and Sir Thomas Wharton, Lord Strafford being his uncle by marriage, for he had espoused Henrietta Maria, the Great Earl's eldest daughter.

It was the common case, of a high spirited young nobleman, "with a great deal of honour in his sentiments, and great goodness of nature[a]," too likely, left as he was, to be drawn into extravagances which might prove very inconvenient. For the estate, as might be expected after such a time of disturbance, though really ample, was very heavily burdened. The guardians took a course hazardous enough in itself, but in this case leading to a connection so desirable, that

[a] Carte, Life of Ormonde, ii. 444.

it might not unreasonably seem to them to overbalance the danger. The late Earl had been purposing shortly to send his son abroad, for a few years' travel. This plan they resolved to carry out, but first they negotiated a contract of marriage for him: and he, young as he was, entering heartily into the project, they took order for the performance of the ceremony before he should leave England, although it involved the great evil and discomfort of a necessary separation from his bride for a long time. The lady whom they thought of,—who thus became Countess of Derby, and afterwards the mother of Wilson's pupil,—was Elizabeth Butler, daughter to that honoured Earl of Ossory, who passed in his time, and may well pass in all times, for a model of filial duty, and moral as well as chivalrous courage. She was then under fourteen years of age, but the young Earl being, as we are told, "very eager for the match," and earnestly desiring, as well he might, to be in near alliance with two such heroes as Ormonde and Ossory, all was agreed on. The wedding took place in July, 1673, and "the Earl having chosen the Duke of Ormonde his guardian," (i. e. I suppose trustee of his marriage settlement,) "set out for Paris," and after a career which at one time gave great alarm to his friends, returned, as Carte[b] expresses it, "reclaimed," about the time when he came of age, in the spring of 167$\frac{5}{6}$.

He lived on a rural and quiet life, not however unchequered by domestic afflictions, which would fall on his young Countess with especial heaviness. The Ormskirk Register records, April 12, 1679, the burial of "an Infant of the Rt. Hon. Will., Erle of Derby," apparently their first-born. The next year, July 28, she became the mother of a son and heir, James Lord Strange, Wilson's future pupil; but within two days after she had to bear the irreparable loss of her noble and right-hearted father, Lord Ossory. In 1682 again, a daughter, Elizabeth, was taken from them; and in 1684 a son, William.

As for the Earl, if the old steward Seacome be right, he had profited much by the good advice variously tendered to him. For Seacome, intending no doubt to express men's general impressions concerning his new master, describes him "as a person of polite education, great reading, and

[b] Life of Ormonde, p. 503. He gives some curious particulars.

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strong capacity, and a kind landlord;" but keeping from court on account of the sufferings of his family[c]. Much indeed of what we hear of Earl William turns upon the aggrieved feeling, which he cherished in common with all that generation of Stanleys, as concerning the losses of the family in the royal cause. He seems to have gone about the world saying to himself what he once said aloud to his steward—that "he could nowhere look out from any one of his estates in Lancashire, Cumberland, Westmoreland, Yorkshire, Cheshire, Warwickshire, or Wales, whence he could not see another of greater or equal value lost by his grandfather for his loyalty and his service to his king and country[d]." He stood forward accordingly in the first Parliament of James II., to revive part at least of the claims which Charles under Clarendon's advice seemed to have extinguished. May 26, 1685, was read in the Lords for the first time an Act "for restoring of William George Richard, Earl of Derby, to the Manor of Hawarden and Moulsdale, and the Castle and Manor of Hawarden in the County of Flint, the Manor of Bidston in the County Palatine of Chester, and the Manor of Broughton in the Bailiwick of Lonsdale in the County Palatine of Lancaster." It went into committee, but being pressed apparently with no very great zeal, dropped altogether when Parliament was prorogued in November: from which time Lord Derby came to its meetings no more.

This Earl seems to have inherited his father's jealousy of the Roman claims; for he was not slow to join the Orange standard, and sat afterwards in the Convention; having been, for whatever cause, dismissed by James from the Lord Lieutenancy of Lancashire[e]. And in King William's settlement of the household offices, the Countess of Derby was made First Lady of the Bedchamber[f], and the Earl afterwards came to be Master of the Horse; not withdrawing himself as before from Parliament, though he had found it even more unfavourable than on former occasions to his claim for Hawarden and the other estates. For it had been

[c] Seacome, p. 151.

[d] Ibid., p. 145.

[e] In 1687. He was restored however in Oct. 1688, when James began to be aware of what was coming. Bishop Cartwright, Diary, 35, note; Proceedings of the Historic Society of Lancashire, &c., Session ii. p. 134.

[f] Salmon's Chronology, p. 193.

introduced once more (omitting Bidstone) in the 3rd year of William and Mary, Dec. 16, 1691; but after hearing counsel, was thrown out on the second reading, the 25th of January following.

Wilson Tutor and Chaplain at Knowsley.

It seems probable from all this that Wilson's prompt and steady acceptance of the Revolution principle in politics might be one reason why Earl William chose him to be his son's tutor. But Wilson's own words indicate something more, which one would willingly trace out.

Speaking of the appointment after some years, he says, "The several steps I have made to this place have been very extraordinary, and such as plainly appear to have been by the direction and goodness of God." It is tantalizing not to be told after this by whom he was specially introduced and recommended to Lord Derby. Cruttwell simply says, "His religious deportment and amiable qualities in private life recommended him to the notice of William Earl of Derby." In default of more express intimation, it seems natural to reflect on the long connection between Sherlock himself and the house of Stanley; (itself originating in a very remarkable incident, to be referred to by and by,) by which connection he was enabled to befriend his nephew as he did. Then one might muse on the turns of Providence which made Wilson a clergyman instead of a physician, and cast his lot at Winwick rather than in Ireland. And his acquaintance with Mr. Finch, though recent, might be thought of; for Finch was a very likely person for Lord Derby to resort to for advice in such an appointment. And it would partly explain Wilson's naming Finch in his devotions, as a benefactor of like stamp with Hewetson himself.

But whoever introduced him, there would be family recollections and associations in good store, which would ensure him favourable notice both from Earl William and his Countess. Sherlock had been for eighteen or twenty years the trusted helper and friend, the adviser and guide of Charles, the present Earl's father. Mr. Crane in his Funeral Sermon, p. xxxix., would carry the connection much farther back, saying that he had been chaplain long before to Charles's grandfather, the first Earl William; i.e. as far back as 1642,

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the date of that nobleman's death. Sherlock was at that time a clergyman in Ireland, and it is hard to imagine how he could have been put in the way of such an appointment. But it is quite certain that in the next generation he had the confidence of the Derby family.

Again, it seems exceedingly probable, that Sherlock, who came over with Ormonde's commission as chaplain to the Irish contingent in 1644, had previously had a cure, if he were not beneficed, somewhere on the Duke's estates in Munster, recommended to him possibly by Bishop Chappel, Provost of Trinity College, Laud's zealous and honest co-operator in reforming the University of Dublin after the pattern of Oxford. In default of information from the Irish registries, this is perhaps an admissible conjecture: but, however, thus far is certain, that Sherlock was employed by the Duke on a perilous enterprise, which led to his becoming a distinguished confessor in what was to him a most sacred cause; and neither Ormonde, nor those next to him in blood, were apt to forget such claims. When the Lady Elizabeth, therefore, came to reside as Countess at Knowsley, the neighbourhood of that venerable man must have been a most acceptable circumstance to her; and very welcome to her, no doubt, was the introduction of his nephew, trained under him and entirely trusted by him, as tutor to her only son. It is plain that she and Wilson understood each other immediately, and that she was the greatest comfort to him during his abode in the house. Of her personal excellence we have his unreserved testimony, expressed in the most solemn way, perhaps, in which one mortal can bear witness to another. It occurs in the following intercession, which, we are told, "he constantly used during his residence with Lord Derby as his chaplain:"—

"*Post prec. matutin. quotidie*[g]. 1692.

"FOR THE FAMILY.

"O Almighty God! by w^{m} y^{e} whole world as one family is governed; I accept wth all thankfulness the charge of this family where Thy Providence has made me a Past^{r} and

[g] M. H., p. v.

Guide. Let Thy Grace and H. Spt, I most humbly beseech Thee, assist me in ye doing of my duty, and if it be Thy will, let not my labour be in vain. Give me ye Spt of wisdome, yt I may know how to instruct effectually, and a prudent Zeal and Courage yt I may oppose vice wherever I find it. Make me (Gt God) ever Jealous for Thy H. Name and Honr, yt ye just sens of my Duty, and of my *particular* and *imediate Relation to Thy service,* may prevail wth me above any othr consideration wtever.

"Bless ye Lord of this house wth a just sens of Thee, ye Lord of Heav. and Earth; and turn ye whole bent of his affections from sensual Love to ye love of Thee; Let not yt Power and Greatness wch he has received from Thee for ye advantage of others, be made use of to their hurt and destruction; Let not yt covetousness wch is ye root of all evil prevail ovr him, nor draw ye curses of ye injured world upon him and his Posterity. May yt Powerfull word wch made a Publican a Disciple, and made yt Disciple so exemplary, charitable and just,—may yt Eternal Word and Spt have ye same influence upon his soul, yt he may be truly ye Disciple of J. Xt, yt by his example he may influence othrs to ye practice of Relign and virtue, and by his authority discountenance Irreligion and Vice.

"Bless him and this family in showring down ye choisest of Thy blessings upon his vertuous Lady, and as Thou hast in her given us a grt Example of Vertue and Piety, grant yt we may all follow her steps in ye way wch leads to Eternal Life; Let her Zeal and sincerity encourage ye good to persevere, and her Piety provoak the wicked to amend their ways; yt at last we may all meet, and become again one family in ye Eternal Mansions wch Thou hast prepared for all yt love and fear Thy name.

"Let my Prayers be acceptable in Thy sight for James Ld Strange; Good God, go along wth me in his education, and teach me by thy H. Spt how to instruct him in all ye ways of Religion, Piety and Honr. Bless him and make him good, yt his greatness may be more usefull to the world, and his Station and Power beneficial [to] mankind; Preserve him from all dangers ghostly and bodily, and wn he has liv'd long to Thy Honr bless him wth Eternal Life.

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"Bless all y^e^ rest of this family comitted to my charge; and give y^m^ all grace y^t^ they may do their dutys in their several places, not w^th^ eye-service as men pleasers, but in singleness of heart fearing Thee their great Master and Judge.

"Thy Power, O God, is unlimited, in mercy reduce all those y^t^ wander out of y^e^ way, and give us all a true and lively sens of our transgressions, y^t^ we may see y^e^ necessity of amending our lives or of being for ever miserable.

"O Lord, say Amen to these my Prayers, and deliver me from the guilt of oth^r^ men's sins, for the sake of J. X^t^ my Great Lord and Master. Amen."

This prayer might stand as a specimen of the author's devotional writings, in its great simplicity, and entire freedom from every symptom of excitement, at a moment of such exceeding temporal interest to him: also in its completeness, and the orderly mention of the several members of the family: with the exception, indeed, of the two daughters; for there were two, Henrietta and Elizabeth; but the eldest at that time was only four years old, so that they may well be supposed to be included in the petition for the "choicest of God's blessings to be showered upon" their mother. The servants obviously were in his mind in the clause which makes mention of "eye-service." It is worth observing, too, how unreservedly he was enabled from the beginning to throw himself into a position so very new to him,—to become, in a moment, one of the family. His hopes for doing good among them, humanly speaking, were evidently centered in the Countess.

In his patron's character, from the very first, he foresaw difficulties and prepared to deal with them: such difficulties as one might expect from the disadvantages of his education above detailed: a generous heart blemished by a tone of mind little above the ordinary cast; self-indulgent, and to a certain degree worldly and covetous, and apt (according to the conversational and social habits of the time) both to take and allow wrong liberties. So much is implied in the petitions, "That he may believe in Thee, and acknowledge Thee to be the Lord of Heaven and Earth;" and again, "Turn his heart from sensual love to the love of

Thee," and "Let not . . covetousness . . prevail over him." Observe also the wish that he might especially follow the example of St. Matthew; and (yet more distinct) the confession made by Wilson in his own behalf long after, that he had not been so careful as he ought to have been in labouring for his patron's conversion, but had more or less offended by seeming amused at things which he now felt to be vile and profane[h]. That is, he had not carried out (who does so?) the high standard which his devotions shew him to have framed for himself, of the religious watchfulness due from a Chaplain to the family in which he ministers. CHAP. II.

Of the young Lord Strange himself,—the sole apparent hope of the original stock of that very noble family,—to whom Wilson thus devoted five of the best years of his life, and of his way of dealing with him, I find no record or tradition, but what is contained in the following short passage from Cruttwell:—"Mr. Wilson took great pains with his noble pupil. Want of consideration, and a precipitancy of temper, seem to have been the principal faults in this young nobleman's character: and his tutor exerted his best endeavours to correct his Lordship's disposition in these respects. The following extraordinary instance of his management, upon a particular occasion, is said to have produced its proper effect. One day, as Lord Strange was going to set his name to a paper which he had not read, Mr. Wilson dropped some burning sealing-wax on his finger; the sudden pain made him very angry, but his tutor soon pacified him, by observing, that he did it to impress a lasting remembrance on his mind, never to sign or seal any paper he had not first read and attentively examined." The anecdote came doubtless from the Bishop himself through his son; and without being fanciful, I suppose one may say that it bears internal evidence of reality. There is the prompt and fearless discipline, which every one knows to have been a main feature of his character; there is the sense of duty in matters of business; there is a touch also of the genuine humour, which he certainly bore about with him, however rarely he permitted it to appear; and there is the skill with which he

[h M. H., p. 94.]

CHAP. II. availed himself of that humour for purposes of discipline. Lord Strange would remember his tutor's caution, on the same principle that a country boy remembers the parish bounds by his annual bastinado or immersion; and in each case the pain is the sooner forgiven for the sake of the merriment.

The Earl's family then as now chiefly resided at Knowsley near Prescot, ten miles at least from Winwick. So that of course Wilson had to give up his parish work; which indeed, had he resided on the spot, would hardly have proved reconcileable with the care of his pupil and of the family, according to the high standard of both which he all along proposed to himself. We are therefore to regard him for the next five years as wholly taken up with his chaplaincy and tutorship, in his mind eminently pastoral employments.

It was settled at the same time, that his annual stipend should be £30, made up to £50 by the mastership of the Almshouse at Lathom, to which he was elected soon after his appointment in the Earl's family, and which does not appear to have involved any active duties.

Thus, (to use the words of his first biographer,) "he had now an income far beyond his expectations,—far beyond his wishes, except as it increased his ability to do good." And he proceeded immediately to carry still further the systematic mode of almsgiving which he had adopted from the first moment of his having an income to manage. It is probable that the appointment to the Lathom Hospital took place in the early part of 1693, (as we should reckon it); and Easter-day in that year, April 16, is marked in his memorandum books by the following entry:—

"Gen. xxviii. 20, 21, 22. And Jacob vowed a vow, saying, If God will be wth me, and will keep me in this way y^{t} I go, and give me bread to eat, and raiment to put on—Then shall y^{e} Lord be my God. And of all y^{t} Thou shalt give me, I will surely give the Tenth unto Thee." Under this he inserted, evidently after he had become Bishop, "It shall fight for Thee (saith Syrach's son) more then," &c., ["a mighty shield and strong spear."]

Then the memorandum proceeds: "Knowsley, Easter-day,

1693. It having pleas'd God, of His meer bounty and goodness, to bless me w^th^ a temporall Income far [above] my hopes or deserts; and I having hitherto but given one Tenth part of my income to y^e^ poor; I do therefore purpose, and I thank God for putting it into my heart, That of all the Proffits w^ch^ it shall [please] God to give me, and w^ch^ shall become due to me the 6th [? 16th] of Aug^st^ next, (after w^ch^ time I hope to have paid my small debts,) I do purpose to separate y^e^ 5th part of all my Incomes, as I shall receive y^m^, for Pious uses, and particularly for y^e^ Poor. T. W."

Then follows the fulfilment of the vow.

"*Aug.* 1693. The God y^t^ gave me a will to make this solemn Purpose, has given me grace not to repent of it, and He will give me grace to my life's end. Amen. 'Tho' I give my goods to feed the poor, and have not charity,'" &c.

Apparently the Prayer in *Sacra Privata*, "Before laying aside of Almes for the Poor," was re-written on his removal to Knowsley; and when after a year's experience he found himself in a position to double his offering, he added to it this clause, "And I thank God that before I knew it I pitcht upon the Proportion w^h^ comes near to w^t^ the Jews were bound to give." He means, I suppose, the two-tenths, the first for the Levites, Num. xviii. 21; the second, of the remaining nine-tenths, for the poor, Deut. xiv. 22. At some other time he added also, "The Lord give a blessing to what I bestowe, that it may do the poor good, and that they may own Thy hand in it[i]."

Within three weeks of his accepting this appointment, on Sept. 8, 1692, his memoranda mention "a Shock of an Earthquake, about seven in the morning, very sensibly felt in all England, and in the Isle of Man[k]." The neighbourhood of Liverpool, it may be observed, appears always to have had its part in such visitations[l]. To him this one

[i] M. H., p. 9.

[k] Sacra Privata, MS. i. 252; iii. 64.

[l] Of this same earthquake Bishop Burnet writes, "It was felt in most places in England, and was at the same time felt in many places of France, Germany, and the Netherlands. No harm was done by it, though it continued for three or four minutes . . . Nor can it be determined whether this had any relation to those terrible earthquakes, which happened some time after this in Sicily and Malta . . . It was estimated that about 100,000 persons perished by them in Sicily." Then mentioning also "an earthquake, which about the same time destroyed the best

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came especially "accompanied with an affecting circumstance never to be forgotten." This may be conjectured to have been something which occurred at a funeral: for in another entry in the *Sacra Privata*, relating to the sharpest of his domestic afflictions, he uses nearly the same expression: "The loss of my dear wife, *with a very peculiar circumstance at the funeral*, w^ch^ shewed at once the love and the justice of God." On this supposition, it might have been one of the last occasions of his officiating in his cure at Newchurch. If it be thought that the time (7 A. M.) does not suit well with this conjecture, we may yet imagine him to allude to some death or deadly affliction in his family or cure.

To such good works as have been before mentioned, and to the prosecution of his theological studies, Mr. Wilson seems to have devoted what time he could spare from his strictly pastoral employment throughout the five years, from Aug. 1692, to Nov. 1697. By his pastoral employments I mean the care of the family and his attendance on his pupil: to which perhaps might be added occasional visits to the Lathom "Hospice." For he is said to have officiated in the ancient chapel now standing there; a place made a second time interesting, within memory of some in the present generation, by the ministry of Robert Wynell Mayow, Wilson's worthy successor, so far, in his parochial work; as he was William Law's in his pointed English, and in the glow and keenness of his uncompromising Christian morality. In Wilson's time Lathom House continued in ruins, but the Earl was planning to rebuild it, if indeed he had not already begun the work. The chapel, or part of it, remained, with some at least of the residences of the old almsmen, thirteen in number. The Dowager Countess, the widow of Sherlock's friend, was living close at hand; and so probably was Wilson's own fellow curate, Thomas Crane, now a widower, and ejected from the ministry. Newburgh, in Ormskirk parish, was Crane's native place, and thither he seems to have retired; he certainly lived on at least until

part of the chief town in Jamaica," Burnet adds, "These were very extraordinary things, which made those who studied Apocalyptical matters imagine that the end of the world was drawing on. It had been happy for us, if such dismal accidents had struck us with a deeper sense of the judgments of God." Own Times, ii. 100, 101. fol. 1734.

1717; for in that year he made his will[m], leaving land in the place, which he had bought, and a school-house which he had built, and the residue of his estate, "to the teaching of youth and children, paying wages: the poorer sort to be kindly treated for their quarterage;" children whose own or their mother's name was Crane, to be privileged, and the masters and ushers to be chosen out of them if qualified. Lathom is about twelve miles from Knowsley, and we cannot doubt its having had frequent visits from its Master, though we may be sure it brought with it no cure of souls, otherwise Wilson could not have held it consistently with his vow above mentioned.

In the course of those three years, two or three events are recorded by him, each one, humanly speaking, likely enough to have quite altered his providential course.

First, we have seen that at Easter, 1693, he formed and recorded a solemn engagement, dedicating one-fifth of his annual income, then £50, to pious uses, from the 16th of the following August, contingently, however, on his having paid his "small debts." Very soon after this, his constancy to a former vow was tried by a tempting offer of preferment, as appears by the following memorandum[n]: "1693. My Lord Derby offered me the Living of Baddesworth in Yorkshire, now vacant, w^ch^ I refused, being inconsistent with a resolution I had made against non-residence." This must have been in the first half of that year, for the York Register has the following entry: "Institutions to the Rectory of Baddesworth, 13 July, 1693. John Hunter, A.M., on the resignation of John Barton; on the presentation of William George Richard, Earl of Derby." Badsworth is in the West Riding, a few miles to the south of Pontefract, and if we may trust "the usual sources of information" on such subjects, the offer in a worldly point of view must have been sufficiently attractive to mark very strongly the sense entertained of his merits, at that early period of their connection, by his noble patron. But it was intended that he should continue at Knowsley as chaplain and tutor until Lord Strange's education was completed. Lord Strange was in his 14th year,

[m] Report of the Commissioners of Charities, xx. 126.
[n] M. H., p. cliii.

CHAP. II. having been born in 1680, so that in the ordinary course of things the tutorship might be expected to terminate in about six years at most. Even such a temporary dispensation, however, appeared to Wilson incompatible with his pastoral duty: the rather, (as appears by a subsequent memorandum,) that it was offered on condition of his giving a bond of resignation, "which," he adds, "I utterly rejected. Blessed be the Grace of God!" The exclamation implies, what succeeding events might assure us of, that offers of this sort were indeed a severe trial to him at the time.

In the following September, within a few weeks of his finally confirming his solemn dedication above-mentioned, he was visited by a very dangerous illness, of which his own account is here given [o].

"On Septemb. 29th, the occasion as follows:—

"On fryday ye 29th of 7ber, 1693, as I was returning from Litchfield I fell sick near Nantwich, but ye next day (having used some meanes) I was bettr, and so wth some difficulty got home to Knowsley; the next day I fell sick of a violent Fever; the Physitians despaird of my Recovery, and yet it pleased God of His grt mercy and goodnes, to bring me back fm ye gates of Death. The Reflections I cannot chuse but make upon this, are as follows.

"1st. That very day sennight before, I was guilty of a very great fault, wch I am sure was very offensive to God, and wch I had not repented of, and perhaps had not done it to this day, but had gone on in my wickedness, if God had not by this, or some other fatherly correction, deverted me.

"2ly. I began my Journey (contrary to a former resolution) on a Sunday, wch wthout great necessity I think I ought not to have done; that day being particularly appointed for God's service.

"(3.) I cannot but reflect how very dangerous a thing it is to leave ye settling of a man's Temp. and Spirituall affaires till he's seised with sickness; since I find, by a just experience, how very unfit one is for any manner of business.

"(4.) That my recovery and second life was manifestly owing to God, is what I cannot but acknowledge; yt therfore, as I ought never to forget ye mercy, so ought I to spend

[o] M. H., p. xxxvii.—xl.

y^e^ Remainder of *this life* to y^e^ Hon^r^ *and in y^e^ Service* of y^e^ Author of it; *w^ch^ by y^e^ grace of God I will do.*

"5. I am now most sensible y^t^ Sickness is an excellent meanes of bringing us nearer to God; as then I am, by w^t^ God has wrought in me, extreamly satisfy'd y^t^ 'twas y^e^ great blessing of my life, I ought (as my Master's Service obliges me to it) to take all occasions of making God's Fatherly correction usefull to those who are chastis'd by this or any other affliction.

"And may y^e^ good and mercifull God, who has put these good Reflections into my heart—may He give me Grace never to forget y^m^, nor the blessing I *this day*[p] received; may I, (dear God) never provoke Thee to plague me with diseases, nor bring Thy punishments upon me, w^ch^ Thou never dost, unless we force Thee by our repeated transgressions. This, I confess with all sens of sorrow, was my case; and Thou, O God, hadst been less kind to me, hadst Thou been less severe.

"I acknowledge Thy Justice, and I acknowledge Thy favour. Couldst Thou have been just and not mercifull, I had been utterly destroyed; hadst Thou been mercifull and not just, I might have gone on in my wickedness, till I had brought down destruction upon my own head. Tis good for me that I have been in trouble, for I have since learn'd to keep Thy commandments; but it had not been good for me, had I not fallen into the hands of a mercifull God.

"Since therefore Thou didst in gr^t^ mercy restore me to my former health,—since Thou hast given me a new life,—give me grace likewise, without w^ch^ my life will be no blessing to me; give me grace, I humbly beg, to serve Thee with *this Life,* w^ch^ is Thine. Thou needst not, O God, my service, but accept of my ambition of serving Thee; I w^d^ do something y^t^ might be acceptable to my great Benefactor. Thou desirest no sacrifice, els I would give it Thee: I *offer my life to be employed in Thy immediate service, to w^ch^ I have dedicated it.* I will preach Thy ways unto y^e^ wicked, and by my ministry, if Thou seest good, sinners shall be converted unto Thee. They shall tast and see how gracious the Lord is to those whom He chastises in His love; blessed

[p] In Holy Communion, as one may conjecture.

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are all they y^{t} put their trust in Him, and blessed be y^{e} name of the Lord, who has indulged me this opportunity of returning my hearty thanks for this mercy in particular, w^{ch} I do *this day* commemorate. To whom with y^{e} Son and y^{e} H. Gh. be ascrib'd all Praise and Hon^{r} and Glory, by me and all y^{t} are sharers of these mighty blessings. Amen."

He commemorated this all his life long, in his Sunday Lauds, as one among many signal mercies.

One way or another, by the time three years were over, Wilson had so effectually recommended himself to the good opinion and secured the kindness of the Earl himself, as well as those about him, that he was enabled to speak out freely and with effect on a point as delicate (so we may well imagine) as any that he could well have interfered with.

The princely estates even of the House of Stanley had proved unable to bear the pressure of the times. The Great Rebellion had left them deeply mortgaged, and Earl William coming two generations afterwards found them still in that condition, as appears by what Carte tells us of the fear his family were in, when he travelled at the age of seventeen, lest he should be drawn into extravagances not suitable to the circumstances of his fortune, which though a very great one if out of lease, was considerably indebted. So far, it was not the Earl's fault. It was the common condition of the times; even the great Duke of Ormonde, with all his economical skill, had been compelled to die in debt. However, Cruttwell, that is, Dr. Wilson, says, and the Bishop's own proceedings imply, that the case was aggravated by Lord Derby's "extravagant way of living, and negligent inattention to his affairs." Under these circumstances, on the 21st of Oct. 1696, nearly three years after his appointment as chaplain to the family, Wilson sat himself down to consider before God whether he ought to interfere or no. He helped himself as usual by writing, for he seems to have been always one of the many whose thoughts flow more freely as well as more orderly when they take their pen in hand. Here is the result, remarkable in every way.

[q] "*Reflection upon my own present circumstances,*
"*Oct.* 21, 1696.

"It has pleas'd God to call me out of a family, (w^ch^ tho' its honesty and industry by God's blessing has secur'd it from Poverty, yet it's far from being Rich) to a Post, w^ch^ my own merits and Prudence could never have brought me to. The several steps I have made to this place have been very extraordinary, and such as plainly appear to have been by y^e^ direction and goodness of God. From w^ch^ I cannot but conclude—

"That since God has thus rais'd me it must certainly be for some wise and good end; and y^t^ I might be oblig'd by all y^e^ force of intrest and gratitude to do my duty in this state of life to w^ch^ I am call'd.

"Tis true it may at first sight appear very hazardous to use y^t^ liberty and freedom w^ch^ may seem necessary to advise and reclaim y^t^ gr^t^ man whom I serve: But then I am to consid^r^ y^t^ were I really to lose all my expectation as well as w^t^ I have gotten, I am but where I was w^n^ God at first shewd me His fav^r^. Nay, my education will still set me above my Father's house.

"But this is not w^t^ I oh^t^ to fear; for cannot God who rais'd me without my self, cannot He raise me, or keep me up tho' my ruin should be designed and attempted?

"And perhaps it may never come to this; for who knows but God may give a blessing to my honest endeavours? and then I'm sure it will be y^e^ greatest Advantage as well as Hon^r^ of my whole life; and an ease to my Soul all my days. And if he only falles out w^th^ me and discharges me his family, I have y^e^ Glory and Satisfaction of having done a gr^t^ good work.

"Now if I neglect this w^ch^ I take to be my duty, or for fear or danger or any temporal consideration put it off in hopes of a bett^r^ occasion, I may justly expect y^t^ God, who rais'd me, (it may be for this very purpose,) when I am found so backward in His service, will level me w^th^ the meanest of my fath^rs^ house; my fortune is in His hand entirely, and He y^t^ could find a way to raise me without myself, can find out a way to ruin me in spite of my best endeavours.

[q] M. H., p. cxliii.—cl.

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"And since in my conscience I know y^t I have not y^e least pretence to w^t I enjoy, but all is owing to His Providence and goodness, I am His debtor for it; and I have no oth^r way of making a return, but by doing my duty honestly, and leaving y^e event to God.

"And may y^t eternall goodness inspire me w^th a resolution answerable to this good and g^t designe; may no weak and cowardly apprehensions fright me from my duty: may I fear Him only who has power over my soul as well as body to destroy y^m both, if I am disobedient to y^e Heavenly Command. Inspire me (O God) w^th a zeal and courage becoming my profession, y^t I may Rebuke vice boldly, and discountenance wickedness wherever I find it, and be jealous for Thy Glory in the Presence of y^e greatest men on earth. Above all, O Lord Almighty, make me to do some good in this station in w^ch by Thy Providence is my present Lot; y^t when Thou shalt please to remove me (wheth^r for the bett^r or y^e worse Thy will be done) I may not repent of having done nothing w^ch Thou requirest of me. Grant this, O my Great and bountiful Lord and Mast^r, for y^e sake of Jesus X^t. Amen."

In this, the third and by far the most serious jeopardy which his position had incurred, the very crisis of his ministerial life, Wilson we may be sure was guided as well as sustained by the recollection of a similar conjuncture in the fortunes of his uncle Dr. Sherlock; thus recorded by himself sixteen years afterwards, in his memoir of that venerable person[r].

"His Patron" (Sir Robert Bindlosse, of Borwick, in Lancashire) "had a just esteem for the Church and her ministers, both at that time under a cloud; and being every way what they call an accomplished gentleman, it was no wonder that very many were fond of the honour of conversing with him; which had this unhappy effect, that it made him in love with company and many of the evils that attend it, and too many of the family followed his example. To make some amends, as they thought, for these liberties, they expressed an uncommon concern for the interest of the suffering Church; not considering that if we shall be shut out of

[r] Prefixed to the "Practical Christian." Oxford, 1846, pp. 24, 25.

Heaven for our sins, it will be no great comfort to us what Church we were members of on earth.

"The Chaplain saw this with grief; and therefore, after general discourses and intimations had little or no effect, he applied to his patron more closely, and in a letter he wrote to him, laid down the vices of the family in terms so home and serious, and yet so mannerly, that one could not imagine a mind so void of goodness, as to be offended with his holy freedom. He desired him to consider what injury he did to the distressed Church, for which he always expressed so commendable a zeal. He intimated to him, that this was both the cause of her sufferings, and that which made her the scorn of her enemies; that her friends did her more dishonour than *they* could do her hurt; so that she may truly say in the words of Zechariah, 'These are the wounds which I received in the house of my friends.' He assured him that for his part he durst not seem to countenance such criminal liberties, lest the enemy should say that the ordinances of the Gospel were profaned with the consent of her ministers. And then, forgetting or rather despising his own interest, the uncertainty of the times, and all the expectation he might have from a person of so good an interest in the world, he earnestly pressed either to be hearkened to in this matter, or to be immediately discharged from his office." ("This," adds Dr. Whitaker[s], "it must be remembered, was at a time when the regular clergy were starving, and he himself would not have known where to procure a subsistence.") "His Patron was so far from being offended with this just liberty of his faithful Chaplain, that he heard him with submission, knowing well whose ambassador he was, and ever after honoured him as his friend; and would by no means part with him until he thought his own entertainment too mean for so worthy a person; and then he most effectually recommended him to a true son and lover of the Church, the Right Hon^ble^ Charles, Earl of Derby."

Evidently Bishop Wilson had before him the letter which he refers to: and we may imagine what a help it must have been to him, and how vividly the whole transaction must then and always have presented itself to his mind,

[s] Hist. of Richmondshire, ii. 313.

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as a token from the heavenly Watcher to prepare him for the like trial. When in his Reflections quoted above he mentions "the several steps" he had made to his chaplaincy as "very extraordinary, and such as plainly appear to have been by the direction and goodness of God," it could not have escaped him that a main link in the chain was that very firmness of his saintly kinsman which he was now called on to imitate; Sherlock's loving rebuke to his first patron having been the ground of his introducing him to the Derby family, which in course of time led, as we have seen, to Wilson's introduction there also.

"Impelled by these reflections," (says Cruttwell,) "Mr. Wilson waited on Lord Derby the next morning" (Oct. 22) "in his dressing-room: and after a short conversation on the subject, left him the following letter[t]."

"My Lord,

"Nothing but a sens of duty and gratitude coud have put me upon taking such a liberty as this, w^ch^ bec. I have reason to believe concerns yo^r^ Lord^p^, I can willingly hassard all y^e^ future fav^rs^ y^r^ Lord^p^ designs me, rath^r^ then be unconcerned and silent in a matt^r^ of this moment; tho' I have no reason to fear such a consequence.

"I do therefore w^th^ all imaginable submission offer these following particulars (touching y^r^ Credit^rs^) to y^r^ Lord^ps^ consideration.

"1st. Tho' severall debts (as y^r^ Lord^p^ urges) may be unjust, and perhaps most of y^e^ Bills in p^t^ unreasonable; yet it is very probable y^t^ a great many are really just, and if they are not paid, those who suffer have a just complaint to God and man, w^ch^ must certainly have a very ill influence upon y^r^ Lord^ps^ affaires.

"2. That severall in y^e^ neighborhood are undone if they are not speedily considered; they are forc'd to y^e^ last necessity, some to sell their estates, and oth^rs^ ready to leave y^e^ country, or to lye in Gaol for debts w^ch^ are owing to y^m^ from y^r^ Lord^p^. They come every day w^th^ teares and Petitions, w^ch^ no body takes notice of, and so y^r^ Lord^p^ never comes to know w^t^ they suffer and complain of.

[t] M. H., 15—18.

"3. Yr Lordp sees wt methods ye rest who are more able are a taking, and you know best wt may be ye consequence of wt they are a doing; but, however it ends, if their demands are just, they'll still have reason to complain of ye wrong yts done ym.

"4. Your Lordp is never suffered to know wt influence these things have upon yr temporall affaires; but I am ready to make it out (whenever yr Lordp shall think it yr intrest to enquire into this mattr) yt you pay constantly one third part more for wt you want then dos any othr person. I know very few care, or are concerned at this, but I am one of those who cannot but see and lament this hardship and misfortune; wh cannot possibly be remedyed till yr Lordp has taken some order wth yr creditrs and reformed those who shall have ye disposeall of yr moneys for ye time to come.

"5. I am not able to foresee how these things will end, and one cannot tell wt they may be forced to attempt: 'tis too likely yt if any disturbance shd happen in ye Governmnt, their wants may make ym desperate and their numbers insolent. I have been lately told yt some of ym have secretly threatened some such thing.

"And now (my Ld) if I have said any thing unbecoming me, I hope yr Lordp will pardon me, and believe it a fault of indiscretion rather than design. I mean honestly, and yt yr Lordp may think so, I do protest in ye Presence of God, yt I had rathr beg all my Life, then to be so far wanting to myself, and yt duty wch I owe to God and yr Lordp, as not to have given yr Lordp these short hints by word of mouth and writing, wch yr Lordp could not possibly have but from some faithfull servant, as I presume to subscribe my self, and

"My Lord,

"Yr most dutyfull Chapl.

"T. W."

At the foot of his original draft of this letter, in Hewetson's memorandum-book, Wilson writes, "After some words upon this subject I gave his Lordp this Paper in his Dressing Roome at Knowsley, Octobr 22, 1696." And then, in ink of a different colour, and apparently not just at the same

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time, he subjoins, "An profecturus sim nescio; malim successum mihi, quam fidem deese."

The anticipation of possible "disturbance in the Government" is explained by the condition of things at the time: the nation being then in that extreme financial distress, which led to the first mortgaging of certain taxes, with a view to the formation of what is now called the National Debt. The air also was in a manner full of conspiracies, so that King William could hardly move about the country without feeling himself in danger of assassination. And the topic was one which would have weight with Lord Derby, who appears to have been a cordial supporter of the Government, and was at that time Master of the Horse.

Plainly, the chaplain was anything but sanguine as to the success of his remonstrance: however, it obtained a blessing answerable to the courage and charity and discretion with which it was drawn up, and the earnestness of the prayers with which it was accompanied. In the words of his first biographer, "Mr. Wilson's behaviour had been so uniformly regulated by the laws of virtue and religion, that his noble patron could not possibly entertain any suspicion of his being actuated by sinister motives in this proceeding; and having duly considered the affair, he was perfectly convinced of the impropriety of his own conduct, and the sincere attachment of his friend, with whose advice and assistance he immediately set about a reformation. Thus Mr. Wilson, by his candour and sincerity, was at once the happy instrument of retrieving the reputation of his patron, and procuring a speedy relief for his distressed tradesmen and dependants."

Such true, courageous, self-devoting friendship might well win a less generous heart than Lord Derby's, and it would appear that all his life afterwards he treated his chaplain with unfeigned deference, and thought nothing too good for him; for which very reason he could not be his chaplain much longer. Twice in the following twelvemonth, 169⅔, we find him in London, employed most likely in assisting to promote the settlement which he had recommended of the Earl's affairs. The Journals of the House mention a suit, we may hope an amicable one, between Lord Derby

and the Countess Dowager of Westmorland[u]: "9 Will. iii. 25 March 1697. A Petition was read from Rachel, Countess Dowager of Westmorland, relating to some matters in difference between her and the Earl of Derby." And, "6 Apr. Counsel to be heard on Wednesday: and an order made, That Mr. Thomas Wilson, Chaplain to the Earl of Derby, do attend this House on Wednesday next at 11 o'clock, on behalf of the Countess of Westmorland." And, "7 April. The answer of the Earl of Derby to the replication of the Countess being read, the House was informed that there were proposals of an accommodation of the matter in difference. Hearing deferred till Friday 9 April;" when it did not come on[x]. Wilson may have been peacemaker on the occasion. Lady Westmorland seems at any rate to have retained a kindly remembrance of it: for ten years afterwards we find her contributing to a charitable design of his.

It appears by the letter at the foot of this page, which has been accidentally preserved in the British Museum, that he was ill that year after he returned to Knowsley, and shared himself, in some measure, the pecuniary embarrassment of his Lord's creditors[y].

[u] Rachel, Countess of Westmorland, was only daughter and heiress of Mr. Alderman Bence of the city of London, married to Vere, fourth Earl of Westmorland, who died Dec. 29, 1693. See Burke's Peerage, 1056, ed. 1858.

[x] See Lords' Journals, xvi. 138, 142, 144. Earlier in the same Session (ib. 132) occurs a suit between the Earl and the Dowager Countess, his mother, Dorothea Helena.

[y] From Ralph Thoresby's Collections, Birch and Sloane MSS., 4274, No. 85.

"Dear Sir,

"I'm afraid you begin to suspect my honesty by this time, but indeed you w[d] pardon me if you knew how I have been hurry'd e're since I recover'd my health, and have not had time to call upon those who had moneys of mine in their hands till now; I must give you y[e] trouble to go to y[e] Gentleman whose name you'll find at y[e] bottome, and upon shewing him this letter he will pay you £5 10s., for so much my Lady Derby has promised me he shall pay to you upon demand, I having p[d] y[e] like sum here. Yo[r] Bill comes to £3 within 3s. The remainder, if you please to take y[e] trouble, to pay to Mr. Rich[d] Rigby of y[e] 7 Starres on Ludgate Hill. You will pardon me I know for this trouble; and I do promise you for y[e] future I will be more punctual w[th] you; for I am never more uneasy then when I am in debt. When you write to my dear friend J. H., pray give my service to him, I am out of countenance when I think of writing to him, considering how he and I have been served since we parted. When you write to me let me have one line concerning him; wheth[r] he is well, and wheth[r] he continues where I left him. Direct y[r] letter (as soon as you have received your money) to me at Knowsley, near Warrington, in Lancashire, and let me know how I must write to my friend. I am, Sir,

"Yo[r] affect. friend and Serv[t],

"Tho. Wilson.

"Knowsley, Sept. 14, 1697.

"If you please to go to Mr. Godfrey

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Wilson made Bishop of Man.

In the course of that year, 1697, it was felt to be absolutely necessary that a Bishop should be nominated to the See of Sodor and Man, vacant ever since the death of Dr. Baptiste Levinz in 1693. The bishopric was of course the greatest trust, though far from the most eligible benefice, in the Earl's gift; of course also Wilson must at once have been thought of as the very person to be charged with it; Lord Strange would be eighteen years old, or nearly so, by the time the appointment was completed, and what remained of his education might be otherwise provided for, more easily than a competent Bishop for the poor neglected island could be found.

At what time in 1697 the matter was first mentioned to Wilson does not exactly appear from Cruttwell's statement, which I subjoin.

"Nor did his zeal and integrity go unrewarded[z]: for in the following year (1697) the Earl of Derby offered him the bishoprick of the Isle of Man, which had been vacant ever since the death of Dr. Baptiste Levinz, who died in the year 1693. This kind offer, however, Mr. Wilson modestly declined, alledging that he was unequal to, as well as unworthy of, so great a charge: and thus the matter rested, till Dr. Sharp, Archbishop of York, complained to King William, that a Bishop was wanting in his province, to fill the See of Man; acquainting the King at the same time, that the nomination was in the Lord of the Isle, the Earl of Derby, but that the approbation rested in his Majesty; and urging the necessity of such an appointment, as the See had now been vacant four years,—a circumstance with w^ch he imagined his Majesty might be unacquainted. The King hereupon sent for the Earl of Derby, who was at that time Master of the Horse, and told him that he expected an immediate nomination of a Bishop for the See of Man, and that if his lordship delayed it any longer, he should take the liberty of filling up the vacancy himself." This, Cruttwell says, he knew by "private information;" adding, "In

at Mr. Nicholas his Office, in White-hall, by my Lord Portland's lodgings, you'll find him any morning before eleven o'clock, and he will by my Lady Derby's directions of this Post pay you Fi ve Pounds ten shillings.

"T. WILSON.

"For Mr. Newbury, at the Golden Ball in St. Paul's Churchyard, London."

[z] Life, pp. xiv., xv.

consequence of this admonition, Lord Derby insisted on his chaplain's accepting the preferment; and accordingly Mr. Wilson was (to use his own expression) forced into the bishoprick,—a promotion for which he was in all respects eminently qualified, and which he justly merited as a reward for his faithful services to the Earl of Derby and his son."

Wilson's own memoranda relating to the appointment run thus: "November 27, 1697. My Lord Derby gave me a promise of the Bishoprick of Man." And in the *Sacra Privata* twice: "Forced to accept the Bishoprick of Man, Nov. 27, 1697." "My Lord Derby even forced me to accept the Bishoprick." And a month later: "December, 1697. His Lordship sent me up a nomination to that Bishoprick to London, where I then was about some urgent affaires of his Lordship's."

It may seem as if his friends at Knowsley had been pressing the offer on him long before the day which he specifies: and perhaps it might not be too fanciful, if one suspected a sort of amicable collusion between them and the Archbishop, with a view of bringing the royal authority to bear on the matter. His honoured friend the Countess, Lord Ossory's daughter, and therefore herself half of Dutch origin, had been at the Revolution appointed first lady of the bedchamber to the Queen, and from the known character of both, doubtless there was entire sympathy between them. Now we know from Burnet[a], and from contemporary documents, that William, wearied out by his aristocratical supporters with importunate applications, was fain before long to devolve the nomination to the higher Church offices on the Queen. And at her death, Dec. 28, 1694, he passed it over in like manner to an episcopal commission, of which the two Archbishops were members, each of them with a special claim to recommend in his own province. As therefore the appointment to the See of Man would be Sharp's especial care, so Lady Derby would perhaps be the person of all others to whom he would especially look for help in his selection.

As we have seen, there was nothing in Wilson's political

[a] Own Times, ii. 117.

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notions to make him ineligible. On the contrary it is upon record, that being about this time of his promotion occasionally with Lord Derby at Court, he came to have a sincere personal respect for King William, and all his life long retained a favourable impression, which he would freely avow in conversation, of what he there witnessed.

In a collection of papers relating to the Isle of Man, by Archdeacon Yardley, preserved in the Bodleian, is a letter cut out of "Lloyd's Evening Post," June 3—5, 1765, complaining of an attack on Bishop Wilson as a supposed Jacobite in a previous number, (for March 8). The writer, evidently a Manxman, says, "To the last he used to value himself as being the only surviving Bishop of King William's reign, never speaking of that monarch but in the most respectable (*sic*) manner. Nor shall I ever forget a very curious anecdote of that illustrious Prince, which I have often heard the Bishop mention: viz. that being once at Whitehall with his patron the then Earl of Derby, and attending the King at prayers in the Chapel Royal, there was but a thin congregation: when his Majesty after prayers coming into the drawing-room, or some of those places, (I do not know what you call them,) where the *noblesse* and gentry of your kingdom come to pay their devoirs to his Majesty,—he found a great crowd of people: when turning round to the Dean of the Chapel in waiting, he said aloud, 'I think for the future I shall order divine service to be performed here.' Which had so good an effect, as next day and long after to fill the Chapel Royal."

The wording of the Metropolitan's mandate for Wilson's instalment, as given by Cruttwell, recites first his nomination by the Earl, then the acceptance of it by the royal letters patent, besides his confirmation and consecration by the Archbishop himself. It is observable however that the original grant to Sir John Stanley conveys the patronage of the See absolutely, without any mention of approval by the Crown. The first letters patent occur, as might be expected, under Henry VIII., taking advantage of the minority of the then Earl of Derby, and of the recent annexation by Act of Parliament of the bishopric to the province of York. It being apparently held that without special authority from

the king of England no English prelate might confirm or consecrate even to a diocese beyond the limits of England, of course it was in the breast of the English Government to force any nomination it pleased on the Lords of the Isle, and King Henry's nomination of Bishop Man, Jan. 22, 1546 [b], quietly omits all mention of the Earl of Derby. In subsequent cases, so far as they are reported in Rymer, the claim of the Earl to nominate, subject to the Crown's approval, is distinctly recognised: and in 1633 [c], on a review of the whole matter by the Lord Keeper Coventry, the Chief Justices and the Chief Baron, it was held that "the Earl ought to present and commend one to your Majesty, praying your allowance of him, and that your Majesty would vouchsafe to write to the Archbishop to consecrate him." And on this footing the appointment continued, until the lordship itself of the island was transferred to the King.

King William's hint about filling up the vacancy himself, if genuine, would imply also a supposed right of lapse to the Crown. Of this however I find no instance, though two long vacancies at least are recorded: one of three years in Queen Elizabeth's time, the other of seven in the later time of Charles I.[d]

The appointment once accepted, and Wilson being in London, no time was lost in completing it. "Jan. 15, 1697. I was confirmed Bp. of Man at Bowe Church by Dr. Oxynden, Dean of the Arches. *Eodem die*" (but previously by Cruttwell's account, and on January 10, according to a memorandum of Wilson's own, twice entered in *Sacra Privata*) "I was created Doctor of Lawes by y^e^ A.Bp of Canterbury," (Tenison). For whatever reason, he seems to have thought a great deal of this last circumstance, mentioning it thus repeatedly as a topic of special thanksgiving.

On the day after his confirmation, the second Sunday after Epiphany, Jan. 16, 1697, he writes, "I was consecrated at the Savoy Church, by the ArchBp of York, assisted by y^e^ Bps. of Chester & Norwich:" i. e. by Sharp, Stratford, (who had ordained Wilson priest,) and Dr. John Moor, who had succeeded William Lloyd, deprived as a Nonjuror in 1691; all three eminently Revolution bishops.

[b] Rymer, xv. 85. [c] Ibid., xix. 513. [d] Cumming's Isle of Man, p. 360.

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No doubt to him the 16th of January was always a season of especial devotion. On the very day, apparently, he entered this memorandum in "Hewetson's Book:"—"To read up the Office of Consecration entirely this day, with a Preparatory Prayer that God may ever keep it—the benefits of the day—in my heart. Ezek. iii. 17." That is, "Son of Man, I have made thee a watchman unto the house of Israel, therefore hear the word at My mouth, & give them warning from Me." The quantity, however, of needful business, the hurry of so great a change, or some other cause, may seem to have prevented his composing a prayer, such as he wished and intended, until after his installation.

A little before this, or a little after, he had an opportunity of doing a good work for his island diocese, before he had ever set foot in it—the first link of the long unbroken chain, which was appointed to extend through eight and fifty years. And *as* such, the remembrance of it appears to have dwelt with a special fragrance on his mind. This is his first remaining memorandum concerning it, made many years after[e]. "A.D. 1697. The Royal Bounty having been unpaid for some yeares, I made interest to get the arrears."

This Royal Bounty was an annuity of £100, granted by King Charles II. in 1675, by way of charge upon the excise of beer, ale, and other exciseable liquors, to William Earl of Derby, Mr. Cholmondeley of Vale Royal in Cheshire, and Mr. Bankes of Winstanley in Lancashire, and their heirs, as trustees for the maintenance of such poor ministers in the Isle of Man as shall most stand in need thereof. A portion of this was afterwards assigned to the maintenance of certain "petty schools:" the cures also were specified, to which the augmentation should be made; i. e. there being only three out of the seventeen which were of any considerable value, and of the remainder only three with £17 per annum, the eleven remaining were hereby made up to that sum. Such was the deep poverty of the Church in Man at that time. The King's warrant recites that this was done upon "former and late representations made to us" by Bishop Barrow. Barrow died in 1680: and it would seem from a letter of Bp. Levinz to Mr. Cholmondeley, June 28, 1688[f], as if the pay-

[e] MS. iii. 55.

[f] In the Kirk Michael Registry.

ments were not at that time going on very regularly. The Bishop announces an intended visit to Vale Royal on his way to his island, and desires that the salaries for the schoolmaster at Ramsey and the preacher and schoolmaster at Douglas may be ready for him to carry over with him: "that so I may be welcome to the poor people. You have always been a most generous patron to them, and I beseech you not now to forsake them, that so they may have all encouragements to continue them firm to the Protestant Church in this time of trial." The amount of arrear in Wilson's time does not appear, nor yet with whom he made interest to get the arrears. Archbishop Sharp was a likely person to help him, if the delay was at all caused by the Crown.

"With part of" the arrears thus recovered, Wilson goes on to say, "I paid the fine of 130^{lb}. payable every 30 yeares[g]." This relates to another fund, known among Manxmen by the name of the Impropriate Fund, for the continuance of which Wilson took order at the same time,—a fund at least as important as the former to the Church in Man. And for this also the island was indebted originally to Bishop Barrow: one of whose first undertakings, when he came there in 1663, was to recover for the Church some portion of the tithes of which she had been robbed at the Reformation. The old ecclesiastical division, call it three or four-fold, had prevailed there ever since the foundation of Rushen Abbey by the first King Olave, in 1134, viz. one-third to the bishop, another to the abbey for education and relief of the poor, and the remainder to the parochial clergy. But when abbeys ceased, the share of Rushen fell into the hands of the Lord of the Isle, until that "true friend to the Church of England," Earl Charles, at Barrow's suggestion granted it, by a lease of 10,000 years, to the use of the poor clergy and Church-schools of the diocese, the consideration being £1,100 and a fine of £130 every thirtieth year. The fine, it seems, was now due, and no special provision had been made for it. But the objects of the two charities being so far identical, the accumulations of the one might fairly be applied to meet an extraordinary burden falling upon the other, such as the fine at the end of the first thirty years.

[g] MS. iii. 55.

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And it was doubly fortunate for the clergy to have that resource at hand, and Wilson coming among them just in time to make it available. Had the lease been forfeited, it would by Wilson's account have made a difference to the clergy and schools at that time of about £100 a-year[i].

Jan. 28, 1697, within a fortnight of his consecration, he writes, "My Lord Derby offered me the Parsonage of Baddesworth in Yorkshire, now vacant, to hold it *in commendam* with my Bishoprick; I refus'd it, as utterly inconsistent wth my duty, and an obligation I have sometime since laid myself under, of *never taking two ecclesiastical preferments with cure of souls:* and especially where I must necessarily be absent from one of them: and of w^{ch} resolution it does not yet repent me y^{t} I made it." His patron was, of course, fully aware of the poverty and dilapidated condition of the see; and it might seem, as no doubt it did to many, that there would be no inconsistency in his accepting for a time the help which this second vacancy at Badsworth placed so seasonably within his reach. Some might even call it a providential opportunity. But he had "opened his mouth unto the Lord," and he could not "draw back." How great the self-denial was, will appear further as we go on. And who can say how fruitful in blessing through his episcopate all along such a courageous and faithful beginning may have proved?

This second vacancy at Badsworth occurred also, as the York Register proves, by resignation[k]; an additional reason, if any were needed, for Wilson's declining to avail himself of it. To the patrons of that day such an arrangement seems to have caused no scruple at all—they would adopt it as a matter indifferent, just as almost all Wilson's predecessors had kept their English preferments, if they had any, by reason of the poverty of the see. His scruples must have appeared at the time very strange and high-flown.

Devotional pieces of this date.

Four of his private prayers, not given in the *Sacra Pri-*

[i] Hist. of the Isle of Man, Works, i. 485. 4to.

[k] "Institutions to the Rectory of Badsworth, 19th May, 1698. Henry Turnbull, M.A., on the resignation of John Hunter: on the Presentation of William Earl of Derby."

vata, may be conveniently noticed here. The first, headed in the Hewetson MS., p. xvii., "Occasional Devotions, § Thunder and Lightning," is dated in the margin "June 6, 1697." CHAP. II.

"*Psalm* xxix. 4, 7; *Job* ix. 4, 5, 6, &c.

"[1] Who w^d not fear Thee, O God of glory, who would not stand in awe of Thee? who canst in an instant tear us in pieces, and none can deliver us. It is of Thy mere mercy that the arrows that Thou now sendest abroad do not destroy us. Blessed be Thy goodness that we are not utterly consumed by the blast of the breath of Thy nostrils. O that Thy sparing mercy may sensibly affect my heart, and move me to serve Thee acceptably with reverence and godly fear; remembering that our God is a consuming fire. Settle in my heart an holy dread of Thee, that as I now tremble at Thy voice, so I may always tremble at Thy word; and not dare to offend Thee, who will one day send Thy Son in a much more terrible manner than this, with all His angels, in flaming fire, taking vengeance on them that know not Thee, and obey not the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Xt. Good God, grant that in that day I may find mercy at Thy Hands, and that I may never hear that voice *more* dreadful than thunder, w^ch shall command the cursed to depart into everlasting fire, prepared for the Devil and his Angels. June 6, 1697.

"Preserve all those that love and fear Thee from the sad effects of *thunder and lightning, and more particularly those for whom I daily pray.* Let themselves, their habitations, their goods, be safe, by Thy Almighty word, in the midst of danger.

"And for those that know not or despise Thy power, make them sensible of Thy Majesty and greatness by these marvellous effects of Thy unlimited strength. In mercy, O God, awaken us all to a more serious and resolute obedience, to a more constant and aweful regard of Thee; that we may be afraid of nothing so much as to displease Thee, nor apprehend any danger so much as that w^ch will be the consequence of our transgressions unrepented of.

"Unto Thy Hands, O merciful Father, I commend my

[1] [Slightly altered] out of Doctor Patrick's Devout Christian, [15th ed. 1721.]

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soul and body, my friends, my relations, and whatever is mine or theirs; humbly beseeching Thee, that we may be safe under Thy protection, for the sake of Jesus X^{t}, to whom is given all power in Heaven and Earth; to whom with Thee and the Holy Ghost be all honour and glory, for ever and ever. Amen."

The two next prayers have nothing to mark their date, except that they appear in the same MS.[m] under the head of "Daily Devotions," resemble the former one in the writing and colour of the ink, and are evidently, as that is expressly, grounded on passages in Bishop Patrick's "Devout Christian." Being rather too long for insertion, they will be found in a note at the end of this chapter.

The fourth of the devotional pieces above-mentioned has the same marks of time with the three preceding, except that it is quite original—no trace in it of Bishop Patrick. It must have been written before his father's death, which occurred in 1702; and it may not perhaps be fanciful to imagine that the quotation at the end of it came from him with a peculiar zest, by reason of the contrast which he must have been daily feeling between his recollections of his native cottage and the life which he was now leading at Knowsley. It occurs, M. H. p. lxx., under the head of "Daily Devotions;" and again in MS. ii. p. 70; but is omitted in the other MSS. of *Sacra Privata*, which we know by other tokens to be of a date subsequent to his parents' decease.

"Ecclus. iii. 3, 4, 7. My Mother was born St. Bartholomew's day, 1624: My Father born, 1627.

"For my Father and Mother, &c. *Post preces matutinas quotidie.*

"O Almighty Lord God, to whom y^{e} obedience of children to their parents is most acceptable, and all disobedience most displeasing: give me grace y^{t} I may always observe my Parents wth all kind of duty, obey y^{m} in all their just commands, be aiding to y^{m} if ever they shall stand in need of my assistance; y^{t} I may bear all their reproofs, and y^{e} infirmities of their old age, patiently; and y^{t} I may never grieve y^{m} by stubborn and evil courses. Good Lord, forgive

[m] M. H., p. lxxi.—lxxvii.

all the offences y^t I have at any time committed ag^st y^m: increase y^e number of their days[n]; keep y^m safe in body and mind; support y^m under all y^e sicknesses and infirmities of their declining yeares, make Thy fatherly corrections as easy to y^m as to Thee seems most meet, but make y^m usefull to y^t g^t end, y^e salvation of their souls.

"Grant, O Lord, that they[o] may see their offspring prosper in y^e fear of Thee; and to this end, I most humbly beseech Thee to give y^e same graces and good things to my Brethren and Sisters w^ch I ask for myself, and *especially y^e grace of obedience to Thee and to our Dear Parents,* for whose care over us, and for all their godly instructions, we can never be sufficiently thankfull to Thee and to them.

"Hear, O Blessed Lord, all our prayers for y^m and for one another, y^t when any of us shall depart this Life, we may do it in peace and in Thy favour, and y^t those who are left behind may not have reason to grieve as men without hope. Grant these things, *O Father of mankind,* for y^e sake of Thy Son Jesus X^t. Amen."

—— "Si natura juberet
A certis annis ævum remeare peractum,
Atque alios legere ad fastum quoscunque Parentes
Optaret sibi quisque; meis contentus, onustos
Fascibus et sellis nolim mihi sumere. . . .
. . . Hæc est
Vita solutorum misera ambitione gravique:
His me consolor, victurum suavius, ac si
Quæstor Avus, Pater atque meus, Patruusque fuissent."

HORAT. *Satyr.* 6.

NOTE ON p. 84.

"*Morning Prayer, Private.*

"O most holy, blessed, and glorious Majesty of Heaven and Earth! Before Thee, the Author of my Being, I humbly prostrate myself this morning; most gratefully acknowledging y^e duty w^ch I owe Thee, both as I am Thy Creature, and as I am a X^n. And y^t I have so often neglected this duty, or been backwards and cold in the performance of it. This, now I am in my right mind, I justly condemn myself for, I heartily bewail it, and in y^e bitter-

[n] Corrected by himself as follows, no doubt after his father's death, "Against my Parents . . . of the days of my Mother and Mother-in-law."

[o] Corrected to "their offspring may see their offspring prosper," &c.; and in the margin, "My pretty boy Thomas died Whitsonday, 1701, being June 8."

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ness of my soul repent of it. And beeause I am not worthy to be heard for my own sake, I set before Thee the merits of Thy Son, Who is y^e^ Propitiation for our sins: for His righteousness pardon y^e^ offences of me Thy servant, and grant me those things by Thy mercy, w^ch^ by y^e^ strict rule of Justice are not due to me. Heal all y^e^ naughty inclinations of my soul, and perfeet in me a hearty Love unto Holyness, y^t^ by Thy grace I may perform all those engagements y^t^ are upon me. And blessed be the goodness of God w^ch^ has so often prevented me with that grace, to w^ch^ I owe all y^e^ good thoughts y^t^ are in my heart, all y^e^ motions of my soul to vertue and piety, and all y^e^ effects of y^m^ in the whole eourse of my life.

"I thank Thee, O heavenly Father, for all y^e^ Blessings w^ch^ I have (undeservedly) receiv'd fr. Thee; and particularly, for y^t^ Thou hast kept me this night past from all perils of body and soul, and hast given me a comfortable sleep (w^ch^ favour Thou hast deny'd to many others,) and rais'd me up w^th^ desires of continuing to be Thy faithfull servant, this day, and y^e^ remainder of my life.

"Denye not therefore (Dear God) y^e^ desires of a soul y^t^ offers up itself, *w^th^out reserve*, to Thy Service. Preserve me always in this serious temper of mind; y^t^ a just sense of my duty may make me evermore ready and forward to it; y^t^ y^e^ sense of my weakness may make me watchfull and diligent; and y^t^ y^e^ remembrance of my former negligenee may make me more fervent and pressing;—That y^e^ goodness of Thy Commands may make my Obedience more chearfull;—and y^e^ gr^t^ danger I have escap'd, and y^e^ Blessedness before me, may provoke me to persevere most patiently in all well-doing; so y^t^ I may be like my gr^t^ Lord and Master, y^t^ I may do Him some Hon^r^ while I live in y^e^ world; and walk worthy of y^e^ mighty privileges He has bestow'd upon me.

"But above all it is the desire of my soul and my humble petition y^t^ I may serve Thee faithfully in y^e^ sacred ministry of Thy Church. To this end, give me, O Lord God, I humbly beg, a *wise*, a *sober*, a *courageous* and *patient* heart; y^t^ I may be able to instruct y^e^ ignorant, give no offence to y^e^ weak, but help their infirmities; y^t^ I may boldly rebuke vice, and chearfully suffer for Righteousness' sake. O y^t^ I may always have y^e^ example of my great Master before my eyes; be always doing good, visiting y^e^ sick, and helping their infirmities; composing of differenees, and preaching y^e^ glad tidings of y^e^ Gospell; That I may neither do, speak, nor think, any thing y^t^ is contrary to Thy will: so y^t^ by me, and by all those over whom I shall be appointed *Thy Minister*, Thy H. N. may be glorify'd, Thy K. enlarged.

("Jacob's vow to be here inserted.")

"This, O Lord, is y^e^ sum of all my desires, y^t^ every day of my life may be a nearer approach to Eternal Happ^ss^. *I wholly leave my Temporal concerns*[p] to Thy good Providence, y^t^ Thou mayest order what Thou judgest to be most convenient for me: and this I chearfully do fr. a gratefull experience of w^t^ Thou hast already (w^th^out my deserving) done for me. Grant y^t^ my condition (if it may be Thy H. Will) may be so far prosperous as y^t^ I may serve Thee chearfully and w^th^out distraction; all besides y^t^ I desire is, y^t^ Thou w^dst^ be pleased to give me a mind contented w^th^ w^t^ever Thou shalt think fit to allot me; and an upright conscience, y^t^ I may not desire, by any unjust methods, to better my condition.

Make me, O Lord and Master, a faithfull steward of all y^e^ good things w^ch^ Thou hast already committed to my charge, and whilst Thou art pleased to continue to me that Prosperity w^ch^ I enjoy[q], fill me w^th^ such a sense of Thy goodness, y^t^ I may be more ready to do good to those y^t^ are in misery; and y^t^ by a sober and moderate use of Thy blessings, I may be prepared to endure patiently whatever change Thou shalt be pleased to order for me into a worse condition.

"Preserve me all *this day* in innocence and in love to Thee and to all men. In all my ways I do acknowledge my dependance upon Thee, do Thou direct my paths[r], and teach me to guide my affaires with discretion. Thine eyes are open upon all y^e^ wayes, &c. Grant, O Lord, y^t^ such a just sens of Thee, and such an awfull regard for Thy presence and commands, may accompany me wherever I go, and in whatever I do *this day;* y^t^ I may not repent I have liv'd so much longer, or apprehend the rod of Thine anger for w^t^ I shall have done.

"Endue me with such graces whereby I may pass *this day,* and y^e^ remainder of my days, to Thy glory, the benefit of neighbour, and y^e^ salvation of my own soul.

"Conduct me safely, O good Providence, thro' all y^e^ temptations and troubles of this life, to y^t^ blessed place where our Lord J. X^t^ liveth and reigneth w^th^ Thee, in the Unity of y^e^ same Spirit, world without end. These things, and whatever else my necessities, my charity, or my duty oblige me to pray for, I most humbly beg in y^e^ name and words of our Bl. Sav^r^. '*Our Father,*' &c.

[p] In margin, "Take therefore no thought for to-morrow."

[q] In margin, "Sap. 6. 5, 6."

[r] Jerem. x. 23.

CHAP. II.

"*Evening Prayer, Private.*

"O Lord the Creator of the world, I do here in all humility present myself before Thee to pay my *Evening Homage;* beseeching Thee to accept of my soul and body a living sacrifice to Thee my God, Who hast made and redeemed both. But most unfit, O Lord, are they to be to Thee presented, until I have obtained Thy gracious pardon for y^e^ many sins by w^ch^ they have both been defil'd. My whole nature is corrupt, exceeding prone to evil, and averse to good; my understanding is full of ignorance and errors, my will perverse, my passions are ungovernable, and my senses have been y^e^ inlets of all impurity; all y^e^ faculties of my soul and body have been abus'd. Lord, pity, and cleanse, and forgive, and accept, and save me for Thy mercies' sake[s].

"There is nothing, O merciful Father, so afflictive to me, as the remembrance y^t^ I have at any time offended Thy sovereign authority: I am heartily sorry for the breaking of any of Thy sacred, righteous, and good Laws. I abhor y^e^ thoughts (? thought) of doing so again, and do seriously protest against it. Remember not therefore y^e^ sins and offences of my youth, and of Thy great mercy blot out those of my riper years; then will my God be much pleased with y^e^ daily sacrifices of His servant, and will not repent y^t^ He has added another day to y^e^ years of my Life.

"And now, O Lord, I ascribe it with all thankful acknowledgements to Thy goodness and Providence, y^t^ I have this day been preserved from all evil and sad calamities, and y^t^ none of Thy judgments (to w^ch^ I was justly liable) have fallen upon me. But that Thou hast liberally and w^th^ a bountiful hand supplied me with the necessaries of this life; that Thou art still pleased to support me in a condition so much above my birth, my desert, and even beyond my thoughts. This creates in me such a sense of gratitude as I am not able to express. Dear God, add this to the rest of Thy favours to Thy unworthy servant,—that he may never forget to praise Thy holy Name for all the graces and blessings he every day receives from Thy Hand. Possess me with such a deep sense of the obligations I have to Thee, and the great kindness Thou hast done me in engaging me to be Thy *immediate servant;* that Religion may be the very business of my life; my greatest pleasure to please Thee; and my highest design to attain eternal Happiness.

[s] Here the MS. is defective, two leaves having been apparently taken out. The remainder of the Prayer is reprinted from the first edition of the Life by Cruttwell.

"Give me grace that I may always have this resolution in my mind, (*as I have the vow upon my soul,*) to serve Thee in y^e^ impartial performance of every known duty. Thou needest not, O God, *my service:* but I beseech Thee to accept of my ambition of serving Thee in holiness and righteousnes all my days.

"Into Thy hands I commend this night both my soul and my body, w^ch^ have by Thee been mercifully preserved in safety all this day. I repose myself in y^e^ belief of Thy watchful Providence, that Thou givest Thy Angels charge of us, and y^t^ if Thou seest good, no evil can come nigh us.

"And grant, O Lord and Judge of mankind, y^t^ I may so pass all the days and nights of my life, in Thy fear and to Thy Glory: y^t^ when y^e^ great day shall come when no night will follow, I may, by the merits of X^t^, receive a Crown of Glory, w^ch^ Thou dost promise to y^m^ y^t^ love Thee.

"These things, and whatever else my necessities or my charity oblige me to pray for, I most humbly beg in y^e^ Name and in y^e^ Words of our Blessed Saviour. *Our Father,* &c."

CHAPTER III.

FROM HIS CONSECRATION TO HIS MARRIAGE, 1697, 1698.

The Bishop's arrival in Man.

Bishop Wilson's arrangements detained him yet two whole months in England, February and March, 169$\frac{7}{8}$, before he set sail for his diocese. One cause of the delay may have been the state of his health; for his MSS. more than once mention, under the head of "Merciful Visitations and Disappointments," "A long indisposition, from which I recovered in 1698."

For reasons similar to those alleged at the end of the preceding chapter, and also from internal evidence, I am led to think that about this time, or not long before, he composed that touching devotional piece which appears in the *Sacra Privata* for Tuesday, under the heading "God's will be done." That also concludes with a passage in inverted commas, altered from Bishop Patrick[t]; the alterations being such as follow:—

[t] Devout Christian, p. 230, &c.

CHAP. III.

PATRICK.	WILSON.
"Thou hast other ways of procuring Thy own pleasure, than by our misery, pain, and torment.	". . . than by our misery *and disappointments.*
"I freely resign all my thoughts and desires unto Thee.	". . . . all my thoughts *and hopes* and desires . . .
"Blessed be Thy Name that I had any thing to part withal, whereby I may testify my faith in Thee.	"Blessed be God that I had any thing to part withal, *any hopes to lose,* whereby . . .
"Help me . . . to lay up my treasure and hope in Heaven.	Wilson adds, "*and to place my desires and affections on things more certain.*
"Increase my faith . . . that I may rejoice in hope of that immortal life, where . . . we . . . shall meet together to acknowledge Thy . . . Providence: w^ch^ by ways most contrary to our desires hath brought us to endless and undisturbed bliss."	". . . that I may acknowledge at all times, *and upon all such occasions as these,* Thy wise and merciful Providence; w^ch^ by ways most contrary to our desires, doth bring us . . ."

One seems to trace here the overthrow, at least for a time, of some cherished hope.

Whether or no this trial had anything to do with the sickness above-mentioned, certain it is that it must have been hanging about him at the time of his voyage; for he went on board about the 2nd of April, within ten days of the beginning of the new year, as years were then reckoned. Considering that he had been all his life an inhabitant of maritime districts, and had made the voyage and return between England and Ireland, it seems remarkable that he should have felt this embarkation so much of an adventure as he plainly did, if we may judge by the following prayer, which is headed, "Before my going to sea[u]."

"Aprill 2, '98.

"Great God, under whose Protection we are alike safe in evry place whith^r^ Thy Providence calles us; in an humble confidence y^t^ it is according to Thy good pleasure I undertake this voyage. I most cheerfully com'itt my self to Thy most gracious fav^r^ and care; beseeching Thee for y^e^ sake of J. C^t^ to pardon y^e^ many transgressions of my life, w^ch^ may

[u] M. H., p. xlv.

hinder the current of Thy Blessings fr. descending upon me, and particularly y^t^ of a Prosperous passage, to implore w^ch^ I am now prostrate before Thee. And y^t^ my prayers may be more acceptable in Thy sight, I most humbly present y^m^ togeath^r^ w^th^ all y^e^ good prayers y^t^ are offerd to y^e^ throne of Grace, y^e^ Intercession of our Lord, and y^e^ supplications of all Thy servants for all *such as travail by land and by water.*

"Let not my sins (Dear God) nor especially my Ingratitude for y^e^ many blessings I have formerly receeived, hinder y^t^ w^ch^ I now desire.

"And give me grace y^t^ I may not, for the time to come, be so unthankfull, but if it shall be Thy good pleasure y^t^ I shall land in safty, I may ascribe it to Thy Fav^r^ to y^e^ most unworthy of all Thy servants.

"But if in Thy great wisdome Thou hast oth^r^ ways determined, *Thy will be done.* I submit myself to Thee, and com'itt my soul and body into Thy hands as into y^e^ Hands of my mercifull Creator, who knows w^n^ 'tis most fit to call me out of this world.

"Only this I most humbly beseech Thee for Thine infinit mercy to grant, y^t^ before my soul shall depart from my body Thou wouldst wash it and sanctifye it w^th^ Thy H. Ghost, y^t^ being deliverd from Thy wrath, it may be received into Thy everlasting kingdome, thro' y^e^ merits of my dear Advocate, y^e^ Blessed Jesus. Amen."

Certainly there is nothing here which a Christian man might not well say in his heart, on commencing the most trivial and familiar journey; and we must remember that the navigation between England and the Isle of Man, even now considered, I believe from some peculiarity in the currents, more trying than the same number of miles by sea almost any where else, was then a very much longer and more serious affair, as the memoranda of Wilson's own voyages sufficiently prove. In this very instance he seems to have been four days out, one of which (April 3) was a Sunday. "April 6th," (he writes) "1698, I Landed in Derby Haven, being y^e^ first time I came to y^e^ Island." Yet I cannot but think that in addition to all this his feelings were at that time more highly wrought, more susceptible than usual, and that the prayer bears the impress of this.

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It was the crisis of his earthly hopes and of his ecclesiastical work; and this, with his illness, may well have made him more especially alive to the precariousness of all things here.

His landing place, it will have been observed, was not Douglas, but Derbyhaven, the southernmost port on the eastern side of the island; a spot which under the name of Ronaldsway had been the scene of very stirring events in the early Manx history. Within seventy years, beginning from 1250, it had been the landing place of three several invading nations,—the Norwegians in 1250, the Scots in 1270, the Irish in 1316. And in the two former instances important battles were fought there; the first issuing in a glorious victory for the Manxmen, the second in an equally glorious but far more decisive defeat, for it put an end once for all to every dream of independence for the island, giving it for the time to Scotland, and eventually to England. The Irish inroad, in 1316, was not for conquest; it was merely a sudden sweep over the country of certain clans from Ulster for purposes of plunder. The neighbourhood of the seat of government was probably the reason of so many disembarkations in that place.

Douglas, at the time of Wilson's coming, was fast outstripping Derbyhaven in importance; partly from its central position and more easy communication with all parts of the island, partly from the increase of the contraband trade, for which its distance from Castletown made it more convenient. Wilson, however, for the first half of his incumbency, seems to have preferred landing at Derbyhaven after his occasional absences in England.

He had now to present himself to the Governor, at that time Col. Nicholas Sankey, and to make arrangements with him, among other things, for his installation. He stayed at Castletown four or five days. It was a place in which he was already interested; for as early as on the 14th of the preceding February, when he was in London preparing to be consecrated on the 16th, Lord Derby, no doubt with Wilson's cognizance and full approbation, had made himself party to a document, hereinafter to be alleged, whereby provision was made for a new chapel there. And now that Wilson was on the spot, he did not, we may be sure, lose the opportunity of acquainting himself thoroughly with the

spiritual needs of the place; for the supply of which, very soon after, he made his first essay in church building. Here also, either now or in the course of that summer, he preached the sermon which stands fifty-sixth in this edition—on the Barren Fig-tree—and which is here mentioned as the earliest in date of all his published sermons, according to his note on the MS.

Proceeding to Peel, (on horseback, as I conjecture,) with the Governor and other chief officers of the island, ecclesiastical and civil, who were to witness the ceremony, he was installed, April 11, at St. German's Cathedral in the Castle, which stands on the adjacent islet or "holm,"—hardly to be called an islet at low water. Of the service used on that occasion, we only know that the Archbishop's mandate for his installation (given at length by Cruttwell) was read; that he took an oath of allegiance to the Lord of the Isle (of which more will be said hereafter); that he was enthroned by the Vicar-General, Samuel Wattleworth, acting as the Archdeacon's official for the time; and that the form recited by him contained a benediction (so to call it) so appropriate in this case, that it might seem almost of prophetic tenor[x]:—"The Lord preserve thy going out and thy coming in, now and for evermore. And that thou mayest go forward in righteousness and holiness, adorning the station assigned unto thee by God, and all to the glory of His Name, the salvation of souls, the profit and honour of this Church,—this may God All-mercifull and Almighty grant unto thee; and when at last thine office is discharged, may He grant for a reward unto your Fatherhood an everlasting life and crown: through Jesus Christ our Lord and Saviour."

Under such auspices the Bishop passed from Peel to Kirk Michael, to take possession of his future home at Bishop's Court. To those who are interested in Manx scenery, i.e. to all who are acquainted with the island and take interest in scenery at all, it must be more or less of a disappointment that neither on this his first approach to the island, nor on

[x] "Deus custodiat introitum tuum et exitum tuum, nunc et in secula. Et ut in justitia et sanctitate pergas, locum ornes a Deo tibi delegatum, idque in nominis sui gloriam, animarum salutem, ecclesiæ hujus commodum et honorem: necnon, munere tandem functo, in paternitatis vestræ remunerationem, vitam et coronam sempiternam det Deus Opt. Max. per Jesum Christum Dominum nostrum." App. to Life, No. ii.

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any occasion during his long residence in it, has he left on record anything which indicates a taste for the beautiful and picturesque in nature. Else it would be pleasant to speculate for a while on the thoughts with which he must have surveyed for the first time (if the mists were drawn up) the noble mountain distance, so distinctly marking out the whole length of his future diocese, as he approached it, very gradually, (for the weather must have been unfavourable to make the voyage so long,) from the south-east; or again, as he drew near to Peel and its castle, and afterwards traced the coast road to his new home, with the Irish and Scottish distances. But his was altogether a practical and historical mind, which either took no account of such things, or (more probably) declined dwelling on them as not sufficiently relevant to his duty and calling.

The same may be said of him in respect of what are called æsthetics. For his era he proved a considerable church builder, but a church architect, or patron of church architecture, he could not be termed; otherwise he never could have suffered the holy and venerable building in which he was enthroned to fall into such hopeless decay as it incurred during his episcopate; hopeless, because the inconvenience of the site seems to be considered a decisive bar against all thought of rebuilding it. Bishop Hildesley, Wilson's successor, was destined, apparently, to close the long line of Bishops of Man there enthroned.

But Wilson had a taste, evidently, for antiquarian relics and reminiscences; and the road along which that first journey led him is in part very abundant in such treasures: more so, it may be thought, than any other part of the island, excepting perhaps the neighbourhood of Ramsey: Ronaldsway, as was said, having been for ages the approach of foreign invaders and auxiliaries; Rushen Castle, with its town, the abode of the supreme executive power, military and civil; the Tynwald Hill (for I make no question of the Bishop and his companions having passed that way to Peel) having been for ages the seat of the legislature; as Peel itself and Bishop's Court were the chosen shrines of the Church. These places would have their attraction for Wilson, as for one who, had he not been a clergyman, might have been a thoughtful and active statesman.

One is almost ashamed, however, to remark on these things, knowing, as we do, by the following well-known prayer, how his mind was then occupied; and by the whole tenor of his life, how it continued to be so ever after. The prayer, although it appears in the *Sacra Privata*, must here be re-inserted at length; for all readers will feel that to omit it in Wilson's Life would be leaving the spring out of the year:—

[y] "April 11, 1698.

"*When I was installed in the Cathedral Church in Peel Castle, in the Isle of Man.*

"In an humble and thankful sense of Thy great goodness to a very sinful and very unworthy creature, I look up unto Thee, O Gracious Lord and Benefactor, who from a low obscurity hast called me to this high office, for grace and strength to accomplish me for it.

"What am I, or what is my Father's house, that Thou shouldst vouchsafe us such mighty instances of Thy favour?

"My good God, grant that by a diligent and conscientious discharge of my duty, I may profit those over whom I am appointed Thy minister, that by this means I may make such a return as shall be acceptable to Thee.

"Grant me such a measure of Thy Holy Spirit as shall be sufficient to support me under, and lead me through, all the difficulties I may meet with.

"Command a blessing upon my studies, that I may make full proof of my ministry, and be instrumental in converting many to the truth.

"Give me skill and conduct, that with a pious, prudent, and charitable hand, I may lead and govern the people committed to my care: that I may be *watchful* in ruling them, *earnest* in correcting them, *fervent* in loving them, and *patient* in bearing with them; that I may stand in the gap when Thou art angry, and through the merits of Jesus Christ turn away Thy wrath from them.

"Let Thy grace and blessing, O Father of mankind, rest upon all those whom I shall bless in Thy name.

"Guide and govern my mind, that I may lay hands suddenly on no man, but faithfully and wisely make choice of fit persons to serve in the sacred ministry of Thy Church.

[y] M. H, p. lxiii.

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And let not the blood of those that perish be required at my hands through any neglect or default of mine.

"To such as shall be ordained to any holy function give Thy grace and heavenly benediction, that both by their life and doctrine they may set forth Thy glory, and set forward the salvation of mankind.

"Bless all those of this island who have already given themselves to Thy service, and labour with me in this great work of the ministry: be with us, and guide us, and help us, for Thy promise' sake; for Thine honour's sake; and for the sake of Jesus Christ. That we may teach well, and that we may live well, and be examples of all the holy graces and virtues which we recommend to others[z].

"Except Thou buildest the house, their labour is but lost that build it; it is but lost labour to rise early and take late rest, if Thou bless not our endeavours who are appointed to watch over Thy flock in this place.

"Bless every member of this Church: support the weak, confirm and settle those that stand, and preserve and feed my flock together with myself, through Jesus Christ, the chief Shepherd.

"Lord, who is sufficient for this great work? Thou, O God, canst enable the meanest of Thy servants to bring to pass what Thou hast determined: be pleased, if it be Thy gracious will, to make me an instrument of great good to Thy Church and people: and grant that when I have preached to and governed others, I myself may not be lost, or go astray.

"Preserve me, dear God, from the dangers *of a prosperous condition;* from pride and forgetfulness of Thee[a]; from a proud conceit of myself, and from disdaining others.

"Rather turn me out of all my earthly possessions, than that they should hinder me in my way to heaven.

"If affliction is needful for me, let me not want it: and give me grace thankfully to receive Thy fatherly correction; that after this life is ended in Thy more immediate service, I may dwell with Thee in life everlasting; for the sake of the blessed Jesus, my Great Lord and Master. Amen."

[z] In marg. here, "1 Tim. iii. 14, 'These things write I, that thou mayest know how to behave, &c.'"

[a] In marg., "'Beware that thou forget not the Lord thy God, lest &c.' Deut. 8."

Singulis diebus dominicis post preces public. matutinas. Prælecto prius Officio de Ordin. Episcop.

The Consecration Service, then, annexed to this prayer, was thenceforth his regular noonday exercise every Sunday of his life, beginning with Palm Sunday in the year we are speaking of, 1698, for he probably spent Holy Week and Easter upon or near his own demesne.

Thus from his cathedral the good Bishop proceeded to his palace; and it is hard to say which of the two he found in the more forlorn and dilapidated condition.

His entry on his Palace.

Bishop's Court, although not marked out to the eye by any very special features either of scenery or of archæology, might well recommend itself as the site of the episcopal abode. It is sheltered, yet healthy; for the range of steep green mountains rises at no great distance to the east, and the sea-breeze has but a very little way to travel to it from the west and north-west; and it has a rivulet of its own, coming down a shallow glen, along the sides of which are points here and there from which may be discerned in clear weather both the Scottish and the Irish coasts. Lower down, the little valley is called "Orrisdale," and one of the points where it opens to the sea bears the name of Orris Head; King Orry, the first Scandinavian conqueror of Man, being, no one knows how, associated with the spot. The mansion is retired, yet accessible; more out of the way of secular interruptions than it would be in the neighbourhood of Douglas, Ramsay, or Castletown, yet so situated that even in Wilson's time it was easy for him to visit any part of his diocese and return the same day. Under whatever name, it appears to have been for at least 450 years the demesne and residence of Wilson's predecessors. "Simon, a man of great piety and learning, who held a Synod of the Clergy in 1239, in which thirteen canons were enacted, died in a good old age, at his palace at Kirk Michael, in the year 1249[b]." The "palace in Kirk Michael," whether or no it be the same which is called in Camden Bala Curi, can only mean Bishop's Court, which is situated partly in that parish,

[b] Bishop Wilson, Hist. of the Isle of Man, Works, 4to., i. 491; from *Chronicon Manniæ.*

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partly in St. Mary of Ballaugh: the house lying so exactly on the boundary, that, as we learn by the record[a] of "a solemn and tedious audience of the tenants of my Lord Bishop's demesne, together with most or many of the most aged and most substantial parishioners" of Ballaugh, Feb. 2, 167⅞, in the episcopate of Dr. Bridgman, (who signs himself Hen. *Sodor.*), "they had for several years known the respective Parsons of Ballaugh and Vicars of Kirk Michael meet together upon several Ascension-days with their several parishioners for the distinction of the Conterminations of those two parishes at the gate of Bishop's Court, and in their perambulation go into the Chapel of the said Lord Bishop, and there unanimously agree that the upper or east end thereof did stand and was of ancient time held to be within the precincts of the parish of St. Mary of Ballaugh, and the lower or west end of the said chapel was of old time esteemed to be within the site and precincts of the parish of Kirk Michael; and that the said respective Parsons and Vicars did severally officiate divine service, the one at the one side or end of the said chapel, and the other at the other .... alternately upon the said same days of perambulation."

This chapel Bishop Wilson found standing eleven years after the date of that paper, the only part of the old palace, besides an ancient "tower" or turret, which then remained entire. The house had been uninhabited for six years; for there had been no bishop since the death of Dr. Baptist Levinz in 1693, and for the last two years of his life he had ceased to reside. What his reasons for non-residence were may be gathered from certain letters of his to Archbishop Sancroft, who seems to have had some confidence in him. On July 3, 1688, just after the acquittal of the Seven Bishops, Levinz writes[b], "This good news will make mee goe with the more cheerfulnesse into the Long Saile I am now going to in my Patmos, as Your Grace usually stiles it, wheer all the comfort I can promise my selfe is from this topique only, that there I may have time enough for my

[a] MS. in the Registry at Kirk Michael, Lib. 1678.

[b] Tanner MS. in Bodl. 28, fol. 115, printed in Clarke's Collection of Letters, pp. 156, 158. For this and other communications the Editor is indebted to the kindness of John Kent, Esq., of Highclere Castle.

prayers; . . . . as also opportunity of holding closer communication with my God, since that poor desolate place will scarce afford mee any other than Hee to converse with. This is the good use I intend, by God's blessing, to make of this Banishment, wch I suppose will last me till the next summer. . . . When I lye under the confinement of my melancholy retreat, 'twill be some comfort if your grace please to permitt mee the honour and satisfaction of writing now and then a line to you." Then he begs the Archbishop to intercede for him to the Bishop of Winchester (Dr. Peter Mews), to bestow upon him "a house and prebend att Winchester when it falls, or something else equivalent, that I may have wheerwithall to protect me for the future from wintering in the severe clime of Man. . . . For, my Lord, to speak the truth, I have a title too bigge for my scant fortunes to maintayne." Again, dating from Bishop's Court itself, Sept. 12, 1688, he writes, "Your Grace is pleased to wish mee happinesse in my disconsolate residence . . . and truly did your Grace see what terrible storms, tempests, and prodigious winds and inundations of rayn we have had heer for the last fortnight, your Grace would think I had a disconsolate residence indeed. For my part I never saw any thing like it before, and if it bee such weather heer this summer, what I am to expect in winter God alone knows." He delares himself, however, resolved to stay, not on account of his episcopal duties generally, but in order to counteract certain Papists and Jesuits, who were daily expected in the island. "In the mean time I am not idle; to fortify the people against the storme, if not every yett att least every other Sunday I goe to some Church in my diocese to preach to and confirme the people; and God be thanked, I find the people in appearance nothing inclined to popery, tho' wee retayne several popish customs heer in this remote place, amongst wch this is one, that as soon as any person is inter'd all the persons present fall down upon their knees and say theyr prayers att the grave; of which ask them the reason, they can tell you no other, but that their fathers did so before them: and many such other fopperys wee have, reliques of popish superstition too long to trouble your Grace with." It is but justice to say that in a third letter, written

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from Oxford after the change in Sancroft's fortunes, Bishop Levinz shews no falling off in his affection and reverence towards him. But he never took kindly to his "Patmos," where he had to wait till about July, 1691, before he obtained the wished-for prebend of Winchester; which he enjoyed but a year and a half, and dying at Winchester, Jan. 31, 169⅝, was buried in the cathedral there.

It may be observed in passing that it was no new thing for a Bishop of Man to find that he could hardly afford to live there. Strype[c] gives a letter of Bishop Merick to Burghley, April 1590, in which he says, "I came the last summer to Wales; having been the year afore in Man; as I am commonly between both: not of my own choice or will; but things are so. Neither hath any Bishop, my predecessor, been otherwise this hundred years. My living is but 80 lb. in money, wherewith I travail by sea and by land."

Under such circumstances, the condition of Bishop's Court was not much to be wondered at; especially as Lord Derby, following the bad precedent of Queen Elizabeth, kept the see open and the palace untenanted for about five years.

Bishop Wilson doubtless saw at once the absolute necessity of making all new. He immediately set about rebuilding the "dwelling-house and almost all the out-offices from the ground. He stocked the garden with fruit-trees and other things, fenced in the demesne," containing by Mr. Cumming's account nearly a square mile of glebe[d], and "planted many thousand timber-trees," turning the bare slopes, in process of time, into "a richly wooded glen," such as you will hardly find elsewhere in the island. I know not how to improve on Mr. Cumming's description of it, as having "a peculiar charm about it in its contrast with the openness of the surrounding country and the magnificent pile of mountain which rises up from it in one continuous verdant slope towards the east. There is a repose upon the spot," he adds, "which specially suits its character as the residence of a Christian Bishop."

Bishop Wilson was a very energetic planter. You ap-

[c] Annals, iv. 18.

[d] c. xiv. p. 207.

proach the palace from Kirk Michael between rows of trees of his setting; and a principal feature in the gardens, as he laid them out, is the two avenues of elms at right angles to each other, on the north and east. In Mr. Stowell's time, 1819, it appears that the old labourers used to point out the first tree planted by him[e]. Like most improvers in that line, he was very unwilling to cut down, as his worthy successor, Bishop Hildesley, testifies, in a letter written many years after Wilson's death:—"My excellent predecessor, Dr. Wilson, with whose character I believe I need not acquaint you, happily endued with every quality to render him a peculiar blessing to this country and people;—among other manifold instances wherein the see was indebted to him, has left behind a specimen of Mr. Hanbury's[f] taste and genius, by a large plantation of trees about the episcopal manse, where there was not a twig when he came to it. I wish I had not to lament the loss of the largest and best of them, taken down to help towards the expense of repairs before I was aware time enough to have redeemed them, which I should gladly have done at double the price they were sold for. All the answer I receive to this lamentation, frequently uttered, is that I shall soon supply the deficiency. This, God willing, I shall endeavour to do, though without the least hope of living to reap the benefit of my pains, as my predecessor did of his, who lived to make much use of his trees, both for pleasure and profit, and might have had more, but for an over-fondness to his vegetable family, so as to be often unwilling to part even with those whose removal would have given advantage to the growth of the rest. He gave order, however, that one of his own planting should be used for his coffin, which, it seems, was accordingly fulfilled."

It may be noted, by the way, that even this cheerful writer expresses now and then a keen sense of the solitude of the island. He calls the journey to Douglas "crossing the Pyrenees;" speaks of an excursion to the Point of Ayre as of a caravan of pilgrims traversing a desert; and being occasionally left alone, comforts himself as follows: "When I think how many years my predecessor was alone . . . I may

[e] p. 42. [f] Mr. Hanbury, to whom Hildesley was writing, was Rector of Church Langton in Leicestershire, and author of "An Essay on Planting."

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ask what I can have to plead in exemption from that unpleasant circumstance. Am I better than he? No, surely. Then pray M." (i. e. Mark, his own name) "be contented, and thankful for many blessings thousands more worthy are destitute of." All this seems to enhance Wilson's constancy, in working on as he did, and resolutely disregarding all chances of bettering his worldly condition.

Bishop Wilson himself looked back afterwards with especial satisfaction on this portion of his improvements. Here is his own account of Bishop's Court as it stood in 1722, twenty-three years after he began to plant. "The Bishop has his residence in the Parish of Kirk Michael, where he has a good House and Chapel, (if not stately, yet convenient enough,) large gardens, and pleasant walks, sheltered with groves of fruit and forest trees, (*which shews what may be done in that sort of improvement*)." But he also laid out a farm, which, says Cruttwell, "afterwards became very valuable to himself and successors." Evidently he entered on the pursuit *con amore*. His taste for agriculture, acquired no doubt in his paternal home and in the first years of his life, never forsook him, and may be considered, in common with all his business-like habits, as one of the many providential circumstances which fitted him for his own special part in the island. He was thus, among other things, better enabled to enter into the feelings and difficulties of the people, and to make allowances, where the more civilized English were apt to judge hardly of them; e. g. when he vindicates them in point of industry: "The inhabitants are laborious enough; and those who think them otherwise, because improvements go slowly on, do not see the difficulties that too many of them have to struggle with."

All these works were of course very expensive, and it is a proof of the decision and common sense as well as the perfect honesty of his character, that he looked the matter in the face from the beginning, and determined with himself to intermit for a time, at least in part, his free-will offering, now regularly kept up for five years, of one-fifth of his substance. Thus he writes[g]: "It having pleas'd God to bring me to the

[g] M. H., fol. x.

B^p^rick of Man, I find my House in Ruins, w^ch^ obliges me to interrupt my charity to y^e^ Poor in some measure," &c. In Bishop Wilson's judgment, then, it would not have been sound faith, but a blameable indulgence of kindly feeling, to go on giving, when it was not his own to give. His Christian instinct taught him that the law of love cannot really require a man to violate the eighth commandment. However, as Mr. Stowell observes[h], "it was but 'in some measure.'" Yet it is hard to understand how he could do anything considerable in that way: the money income of the see being then certainly not more than £300 a year (for such is stated to have been the constant amount of it afterwards[i]), and the year of entrance on such preferment being notoriously in general a year of loss. The sum to be raised for rebuilding and improvements amounted to £1,400, rather more than the income of the see for four years and a-half. Of this sum £1,200 had to be provided, as it seems, by Wilson himself: the remaining £200 I conjecture to have been contributed by the Lord of the Isle out of the proceeds of the see during the vacancy. For it seems that the rule observed in England as to the temporalities of a vacant bishopric was at that time valid in the Isle of Man also: and this circumstance, taken along with the Earl of Derby's embarrassments, and the poverty of the see, may partly account for the length of the vacancy in this as in former instances. The episcopal income being chargeable with the repairs, not only of Bishop's Court, but of the choir of Peel Cathedral and (in part) of certain other churches, and being nevertheless hardly sufficient for the decent maintenance of the Bishop, no wonder that the buildings from time to time fell greatly out of repair. The state of things at the demise of Wilson's predecessor is thus described by an eye-witness,

[h] p. 42.

[i] Cruttwell, Life, xxii. In the Journal of the House of Commons, Dec. 6, 1651, I find an order, "That the £400, which was the Bishop's yearly revenue, together with the present profits of the sequestrable Clergy, may make one purse, to be allowed to so many, and such, Ministers, as the Council of State shall appoint to preach as itineraries, at least for a time, and all scandalous and unfit ministers be put out." This £400 must include, I suppose, the profits of the demesne as well as the tithes and other income of the see. Elsewhere I have seen it stated, but cannot now recover the authority, that the actual rent of the demesne when our Bishop came to it was but £60 a-year.

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Governor Sacheverell, in a letter[k] to Archbishop Sancroft, Sept. 1, 1696. "The charge with which the Earl of Derby has entrusted me in the government of his Isle of Man forces me to lay before your Grace the necessity the poor Church of that place labours under, not only in the want of a bishop, by the decease of our late Reverend Dr. De Levinz, but at my coming over I found the ancient cathedral down, several churches ruinous, to the repairing whereof the Earl of Derby has kept the bishopric vacant for near three years; and though the churches are already repaired, yet the necessity of a chapel at Castletown will force his Lordship to continue the vacancy at Kil Crest [Kirk Christ Rushen?] till Easter next; and yet even that will fall infinitely short of the real and pressing necessities of the clergy of the place." Accordingly, the Episcopal Registry (Lib. 1659 to 1704) contains an order signed by the Earl, and dated Castle Rushen, April 17, 1701, authorizing and appointing "Thomas, Lord Bishop of Sodor and Mann, to ask, demand, and receive *for his own use* from the several farmers, tenants, or receivers all the Rents, Issues, and Profits of the Bishoprick due in the late vacancy for the year 1695." This one year's income, *deductis deducendis*, (and the *deducenda* must have been very considerable, from a sum made up for the most part of small miscellaneous payments, scattered over the whole island, and left unclaimed for five years) might perhaps amount to £200. If so, it may explain a difference between the Bishop's own statement and his biographer's. The Bishop says[l], "A.D. 1698, &c. I rebuilt the house, barnes, outhouses, &c., erected a new miln, planted orchards, gardens, and fenced the whole demesnes, all which has cost me upwards of £1,200." Cruttwell (i.e. Dr. Wilson) says, "The expences of these buildings and improvements amounted to the sum of £1,400."

Under all the circumstances, one might wish the Earl's bounty to have come in a little earlier and more amply. But it is fair to observe that out of the same fund, besides contributing from time to time to the repairs of the cathedral,

[k] Recently printed by Mr. Cumming in the preface to his admirable edition of Sacheverell's "Survey of the Island," reprinted by the Manks Society, p. xiii.

[l] Sacr. Priv., Supplement xi.

he had paid the building expences of a new chapel at Castletown, the first of the several works of that sort by which Wilson signalized his episcopate. The Bishop's own memorandum says, it was "built with the episcopal revenues." In proof that this means, not what he contrived himself to save from his official income, but a portion allowed for the purpose out of the proceeds of the see during the vacancy, there are extant, besides Sacheverell's letter quoted above, two several orders from Lord Derby. One, before alluded to, bears date Knowsley, Feb. 14, two days before Wilson was a Bishop; and is remarkable as an instance of his promptitude in devising ways of usefulness, and of the wholesome influence which he had obtained over his patron. It is addressed to "the Commissioners appointed to manage my revenue in the Isle of Man," and authorizes them to pay to the Bishop, Samuel Wattleworth, Vicar-General, Richard Stephenson and Thomas Huddleston, gentlemen, all the episcopal rents and profits for one whole year of the vacancy, ending at Lady-day, 1697, to be laid out in the building of a new chapel in Castletown. The second, long after, dates also from Knowsley, April 29, 1701, only twelve days after the grant of the income of 1695 to Wilson, and authorises the payment of £20 more for the same purpose, "out of the Rectory of the Bishoprick."

It seemed proper to be thus minute in justice to Wilson's patron, and also because such things serve to bring out a very noticeable point in Wilson himself, almost as valuable as his own generosity and economy; the power which he possessed, and was never slow nor shy to exercise, of calling out the good-will and generosity of others.

His beginnings in Episcopal work.

Castletown, which is a dependency of Kirk Malew, had a chapel before, St. Mary's of Rushen, besides the garrison chapel in the castle; and why the Bishop and the Earl chose rather to build afresh than to restore and enlarge what they found does not appear. The old church, which is now the Free Grammar-school, must have been much more ecclesiastical than the present one; which is an enlargement, not I suspect an improvement, of Bishop Wilson's. The site, selected probably at Wilson's passing visit on his first landing, had to be purchased and conveyed; and the deed of

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sale for one portion of it bears date June 16, 1698, the delivery being made to Thomas Wilson, Samuel Wattleworth, &c.[m], "authorized and appointed by Wm. E. of Derby to lay out and disburse several sums of money in the building and erecting a new Chapel in Castletown, as by his Lordship's order, bearing date the 14th day of February last, may appear." The remainder, which had belonged to one Jane Allen, was not conveyed until July 7; and losing no time, he laid the first stone himself, July 16, being, as Bishop, the canonical person to do so, and no doubt the Office he used would be in harmony with that for the Consecration of a Church, with which we are all familiar.

At any rate, we know for certain with what thoughts he set about the work.

"[n] July 16, 1698. I laid the corner stone of a new chappel at Castletowne. The Lord God grant that it may continue (when it is finished) a House of Prayer to all ages. Bless, O Lord, Thy Holy Church, and particularly this part of it, where Thou hast made me an overseer and guid. O my gr[t] Master, let me not satisfy myself in building and beautifying y[e] Places dedicated to thy Hon[r], but assist me by thy Holy Spirit, that I may use my utmost endeavours to make every one of these people Living Temples of the Living God, that they may believe in Thee the *chief Corner stone*, and that by this faith both they and I may at last come to worship Thee in Heaven, and to give Thee praise and glory for all Thy mercies bestowed upon us. For Thou art worthy, O Lord, to receive Power, and Honour, and Glory, for Thou hast created all things, and for Thy pleasure they are, and were created. Amen."

Before Bishop Wilson was summoned to this ceremony, indeed before he had been two months in the island, he received a singular application, his reply to which will appear to most readers no less singular and unexpected. A certain Christiana, wife of Christopher Hampton of Kirk Braddan, had been tried and convicted at Rushen, Nov. 19, 1696, on two indictments, for stealing lambs. It was a capital felony, and she with others had been sentenced to death: but on Jan. 11, 169$\frac{7}{8}$, her sentence among others, according to

[m] In the Episcopal Registry.

[n] M. H., p. clii.

a very usual course, was commuted by the Earl to transportation, she taking the oath of abjuration, i. e. swearing never voluntarily to return to the island without his permission. So she was "apprenticed," Jan. 19, to Peter Travers of Liverpool, to be carried to Jamaica for seven years' penal service. When the new Bishop came, one of the first applications he received was a petition from this woman's husband, as follows:—

"To[o] the Right Reverend ffather in God Thomas Lord Bis[p] of Sodor and Mann,

"The humble petition of Christopher Hampton of K.K Braddan,

"Setting forth to yo[r] lords[p],

"That his wife by cause of crimes she had comitted was found guilty and consequently in law a dead person; yett our gratious and hon[rble] Lord granted life to her; she taking an oath of abiuration, at the time of her banishment to the Island of Jamaica, never to return hither[p]. And now your lordsp[s] poore peticon[r] being (in some wayes more then miserable, and) wholly destitute of any worldly help, having innocent motherless children, the one in its infancie not much exceeding one month in age (and not yet halfe a yeare) when your lordsp[s] poore peticon[r] was forc'd to take it from its mother's breasts, and to provide a nurse otherwayes;—and in this disconsolat state your ldsp[s] peticon[r] is; soe that for the bringinge up of his poore children, and to better his comfortless condicon of livinge, hee beggs to be informed of your lordsp

"Whether he may be admitted to ioyne in holy wedlocke with another woman; which if lawfull, hee humbly implores your lordsp[s] lycence; soe shall he ev[r] for yo[r] ldsp[s] eternall ioyes

"Bee bound to pray," &c.

[o] From the Episcopal Registry, Lib. Caus. 1659 to 1704.

[p] The following is the form of this oath as administered to a couvict twenty years before: "At Castle Rushen y[e] 18[th] of June, 1679. . . . You swear upon this holy Evangelist, that you shall by y[e] next convenience after y[e] end of one month dep̃te this Isle, and never returne to y[e] same hereafter, (unless you shall be casually compelled by extremity of weather of [off] sea) w[th]out the especial warrant of y[e] Right hon[ble] y[e] Lord of y[e] Isle first obtained for the same.

"Taken before me, R. Heywood," [Governor], &c.

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The Bishop's reply is,—

"26th May, 1698.

"I have considered yor Petition, and I find nothing in it contrary to ye rules of our Holy Religion, or ye ors [orders] and determination of Learned and Judicious Christians in all ages; and therefore I give you Liberty to make such a choice as shall be most for yor support and comfort, and I pray God to direct you in it.

"Tho. Sod. and Man."

On this opinion I remark, 1. That it cannot fairly be quoted for any case short of the very extreme and rare one which it specifies: it turns entirely upon the notion—countenanced among others by the *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum* in Edward VI.'s time—that a capital sentence, such as this woman had incurred, making her dead in law, dissolved her marriage *ipso facto;* 2. It was given under circumstances not favourable to large and exact enquiry; at a distance probably from libraries, and amid thronging calls of untried business, and anxieties official and private; and 3. It bears this mark of haste and inconsideration, that it entirely overlooks the legal effect, both civilly and ecclesiastically, of the course which it recommends; a proceeding so unpractical, so very unlike Bishop Wilson, that one must have seen the paper, I had almost said, with one's own eyes, as it really exists in his unmistakeable handwriting, in order not to suspect it of forgery. This is the more noticeable, as in cases of Church discipline occurring afterwards from time to time under the marriage laws, we find him heartily abiding by the enactments of the English Church; e. g. he treats connection with a wife's sister as incest; which of course it is not, if intermarriage after the wife's death be lawful. Perhaps his attention had somehow been drawn to the then comparatively recent case of Lord Roos's Divorce Bill in 1667, and to the opinion of Bishop Cosin on the subject, and he might have previously adopted a view on which he now naturally but somewhat hastily fell back; considering the case (for whatever reason) to require some answer at once, when otherwise his responsibilities would have led him to take more time.

At all events, we cannot doubt his dealing with these com-

paratively private and exceptional cases in the same spirit of piety and self-mistrust with which he entered on matters of discipline *in foro externo:* the expression of which remains in the following prayer, evidently composed in the very early days of his episcopate. CHAP. III.

"*Before I sit in Court.*

"Deut. xvi. 19. 'Thou shalt not wrest judgment.'

"2 Chron. xix. 6. 'Take heed what ye do, for ye judge not for man, but for the Lord, who is with you in judgment.'

"O Thou great Judge of the world, to whom I must one day be accountable for all my actions, give me Thy grace, and an understanding heart, that I may discharge this part of my office with great integrity; that I may not for any worldly consideration deviate from the rules of Truth and Justice; that I may boldly rebuke and punish vice, but that I may ever do it with that Christian charity and temper, as that my love to the souls of men may be the great motive of my resentment and sentence. Amen.

"Grant that by Thy Holy Spirit I may have a right judgment in all things, and evermore rejoice in His comfort."

The earliest record of Bishop Wilson's sitting in Court, so far as appears in his own Registry, bears date Aug. 2, 1698; after he had returned from laying the first stone of the Castletown Chapel, and had presided by the way at a general meeting of his clergy at Peeltown, July 21 [q], to report his success in the matter of the Impropriate Fund, and assign to the clergy their proportionate payments. He then held a Consistory Court at Kirk Michael, in the church, (which was a very different building from the present, and not exactly on the same site in the church-yard,) and settled two trifling questions relating to the payment of tithes, in the parishes of St. German and Jurby. On the 11th of the same month he holds a Chapter Court in Bishop's Court Chapel, and determines a matter more nearly relating to discipline. It is one of those sad cases, but too familiar there as in England, of "ante-nuptial fornication:" and is thus ordered; that "in regard the woman's mother hath offered to give in dowrie or marriage goods to and with her said daughter to the value of £3, upon the reasonable esti-

[q] Isle of Man Charities, p. 20.

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mate of four honest men," the man is to pay to the woman (whose Christian name is Averick) by way of portion, "since he will not marry her as the Law provides in the like case, the full sum of £3 current moneys . . . Otherwise the Sumner of the parish is to commit him to St. Germain's prison, there to remain till he submit to Law. The Child to be equally maintained by the two parties according to the Law[r]."

In these cases the new-made Bishop, I presume, considered himself to have little or no discretion, and would guide himself by such precedents as his own experienced assessors, the Archdeacon and others, might suggest. And it is to be understood that these pecuniary arrangements were subsequent and subsidiary to penance regularly decreed and undergone.

That Bishop Wilson began also to confirm during this his first half-year of residence I cannot doubt: as, although no instance is recorded, his MSS. contain a prayer relating to that ordinance, immediately following that on his installation, and evidently written about the same time. And after a five years' vacancy in the see, and so much previous absenteeship, the necessity must have been very pressing. I reprint the prayer here, as almost necessary to his biography.

"*Confirmation*[s].

"O God, who hast called Thy unworthy servant to this high office in Thy holy Church, *to confirm and bless the people in Thy Name;* let not any unworthiness in me, I most humbly beseech Thee, hinder the current of Thy blessings from descending upon them.

"It is great presumption in me, who am myself subject to so many and great infirmities, to exercise this office: but Thy favours and blessings, O great Creator, are not dispensed according to our merit, but according to Thy own infinite

[r] i. e. perhaps, according to Nos. 36, 37, of the unwritten or "Breast" laws, which ruled at that time the spiritual Courts of the island: the 36th enjoining, "That if a farmer's daughter be deflowered by a single man, he is to endow her, or to marry her, going from the Sheet to the Ring" (from the penitential dress to the Bridal Ceremony), "and if he do marry her, his Penance to be mitigated." And again, clause 37 enacts, "That if a Cotter's son beget a Farmer's or a Cotter's daughter with child, the man and woman are to be at equal charges to bring up the child." Which laws might themselves perhaps be grounded on certain Levitical enactments to the same purpose; e. g. (perhaps) Ex. xxii. 16; Deut. xxii. 28.

[s] M. H., p. lxvii.; cf. Sacra Privata, p. 77.

goodness and mercy to the work of Thy hands. It is this consideration, O God, and in hopes of the pardon of my own sins by the blood of Jesus Christ, which makes me bold to do that office to which I am separated and appointed by Thy Church.

"For the sake of the same Jesus Christ, my great Master, and whose example I desire to imitate in all other acts of goodness and charity—for the sake of Jesus Christ hear me, I most humbly beseech Thee, and grant the petitions which I now offer to the throne of grace in behalf of those on whom I am going *to lay my hands.*

"Possess them, O God, with such a lively sense of Thy great mercy, in sending Thy Son to be the Saviour of the world; in bringing them into the world in such a place where the Christian religion is purely taught, and Thy sacraments duly administered; in giving them such an early knowledge of God, and in laying upon them so many and such strong obligations to be happy by obeying Him; and in affording them such powerful assistances of the Holy Spirit to attain that happiness which we all so passionately desire: that they may believe in Thee, that they may love, fear and obey Thee, all the days of their lives.

"To this end give them grace, O blessed God, that with the deliberate and full consent of their own wills they may this day devote themselves to Thee, and to Thy service; preserve in their minds a constant remembrance of that vow which they shall this day renew before Thee and Thy Church, that so they may not wilfully offend against so many forceable reasons obliging them to their duty.

"And by the power of Thy Holy Spirit (which I earnestly beg for Christ's sake may attend me in the offices of this day) confirm and settle them in all goodness, and of Thy great mercy keep them in the same, until they come to Thy everlasting kingdom. Amen.

"And O that the performances of these offices of my calling may constantly leave a greater sense of Thee and of my duty upon my soul, that I may have a better sense and taste of piety and holiness, and that I may by Thy grace become such as Thou canst approve and delight in for ever. Amen, Amen."

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The very tone of the prayer indicates its being drawn up for his first Confirmation; e. g. where he says, "It makes me bold to do that office to wch I am separated and appointed by Thy Church." Observe also the significance of the concluding petition, so understood: "these offices" applying to episcopal functions in general, and not to Confirmation only.

As if to complete his initiation into all his episcopal duties, he held his first Ordination also, Sept. 25, probably in the chapel of Bishop's Court, which seems to have been at that time almost the only room in the mansion fit for use. And accordingly the same MS. has also within a few pages[t] an intercession for "Ember Week, when any are to be ordained." Of this also I venture to insert a portion, for the same reason as in former instances.

"St. Luke vi. 12, 13; Matth. ix. 38.

"O Blessed Jesus! My Grt Ld and Mastr, whose example I desire to imitate as far as my frailty will suffer me; let Thy grt care and tender regard for Thy church, move me to be sollicitous at the throne of grace, in behalf of those Labrs wch I am going to send into Thy Vineyard.

"O Good God, grant yt no unworthyness in me may hindr Thy gifts and graces from descending upon ym.

"But for Thy promise sake, for Thine Honrs sake, for ye sake of Thy church wch Thou hast purchasd wth Thy blood, pour down upon ym such gifts of Thy H. Spt as shall enable ym for ye work unto wch they are call'd, yt they may teach well, and yt they may live well, and be examples of all ye Holy graces and vertues wch they shall recomend to othrs.

"Sanctify, O God, their Persons, their Studies, their Labours, yt they may be respected by their people, Honor'd for their endowments, and for their works sake be heard and obey'd; yt they may give a comfortable acct of their time, wn all our labrs shall be try'd."

One Priest, Matthias Curghey, and two Deacons, Charles Wattleworth and William Gell, were the first on whom he thus laid his hands[u].

[t] M. H., p. lxii.

[u] Ibid., cxxxiv.

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His first return to England.

Four days afterwards his first visit to his diocese ended; a visit of good beginnings, every one of them having its own good prayer to hallow it; and having thus "sought first the kingdom of God and His righteousness," he felt himself humanly speaking free to accept other blessings, which were graciously being "added unto him." But it was in fear and trembling, as may plainly appear from the following letter[x], addressed by him at this time to the Archdeacon of Man, Mr. Kippax: who being a Lancashire person and Vicar of Ormskirk might be known to the Bishop before the latter left England. It is as will be seen in the nature of a testamentary paper, confided in the absence of all intimate friends to the fittest person within reach.

"*Bp^s Court, September* 23, 1698.

"S^r,

"Being now ab^t to go into England, and not knowing how it may please God to dispose of me, y^t I may put my affaires into as good order as y^e sh[ortness] of my time will permit me, I leave this memorandum for you, and do ear[nestly] desire you y^t if it sh^d please God y^t I sh^d not return safe into y^e I[sland] you will take care of w^t effects I have here, and dispose of y^m as [follows]. I am indebted to one Mr. Chester, for whom Mr. Thomas Rennet in y^e Castle lane is concern'd, 100*lbs*, w^ch I was forc'd to take up to defray y^e gr^t charges I was at when I was made Bp. I woud have y^t paid out of the first moneys you shall receive of y^e Proffits of y^e B^prick for this pressent year. I have 50*lbs* or therab^ts in Mr. Wm. Pattens hands, broth^r to Mrs. Mary, y^t I w^d have paid to Mr. John Seacome of Leverpool, to w^m I owe so much, besides some small debts contracted since, w^ch you must take care to pay off, as also some small debts here in y^e Island, for wine, &c. As Wm. can inform you, I likewise owe Mr. Rigby on Ludgate Hill for a Gowne &c., and Tho. Gatnall (?) for a Hatt; and one Mr. Irioch (?) an Apothecary in Reny Street, St. James, ab^t 30*s*. And I think I forgott to pay Trymer Swift, one of y^e Almes men, [at Lathom] 3*lb*. (I don't remember any thing

[x] Communicated by the Ven. Archdeacon Moore.

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els I owe. Let all my goods be sent to my Fath^{r}.) See y^{t} 10*lb.* be laid out upon y^{e} Beautifying of K̄k Michael. And if it shoud so please God y^{t} you shoud have the trouble, I desire you to accept of Poole's Synopsis, Du Pin's 3 vol., and 5*lb.* in moneys: and to pardon this freedome w^{ch} I take wth you. I make Mrs. M. P. a p^{e}ssent of all y^{e} things I sent her before I left England, and 10*lb.* be pleasd to send her to by her a Ring. Y^{r} affec^{te}

"Brother and Freind,

"Tho. Sod. and Man.

"Let nothing in y^{e} Chap^{ll} be stirr'd, I designe bett^{r} things for it if God spares me life; dispose of w^{t} goods will sell in y^{e} Island to y^{e} best advantage. The Good God send us a Happy Resurrection."

"*To the Rev. Mr. Archdeacon.*

His preparations for marriage.

In this frame of mind, on Michaelmas Day, 1698, he embarked, most likely at Douglas, and landed at Liverpool after twenty-four hours' sail. Thence, "after a short stay" (so his son tells us), "he went to Warrington," then as now the abode of the Patten family, from a branch of which sprang William Patten of Wainfleet, founder of St. Mary Magdalen College in Oxford. From his youngest brother, Richard, the Pattens of Warrington lineally descend. The head of the family in Wilson's time was Thomas Patten, of Patten-lane in Warrington, in which town they had been settled at latest since the time of Henry VIII., and their name being communicated to the place implies of course a certain standing in the neighbourhood. This gentleman's widowed mother, Mary, daughter of John Leigh, Esq., of Oughtrington, near High Leigh, in Cheshire, was also living in Warrington, where she had buried her husband in 1684; and with her resided her daughter Mary, to whom at this time Wilson was either betrothed, or in a way shortly to become so.

At such a crisis of his life, his searchings of heart would naturally be deeper and stricter if possible than ever before: and I conjecture by the handwriting, and by the place it occupies in the Memorandum-book, that the pathetic prayer,

headed, "God be merciful to me a sinner," was composed in the interval between his voyage and his marriage. The reader, though he have met with it in the *Sacra Privata*, will hardly be surprised or displeased to find it here also. CHAP. III.

"[y] Ὁ Θεὸς ἱλάσθητί μοι τῷ ἁμαρτωλῷ. *Math.* vi. 14, 15.

"What would become of me if Thou, O Father of mankind, shouldst not have mercy upon me? It had been better for me that I had never been born, than that I should have lived to have offended Thy Majesty *as I have done*, and should not live to Repent of it, and to appease my angry God.

"O! give me true Repentance for all the errors of my life past, and a stedfast faith in Thy Son Jesus Christ, that my sins may be forgiven, and my pardon sealed in heaven before I go hence and be no more seen.

"Ὁ Θεὸς ἱλάσθητί μοι τῷ ἁμαρτωλῷ.

"I know, O Lord, that there is no word impossible with Thee, and though my sins are so many that I cannot recount them, though they are of such a foul nature that I blush to name them, tho' they have left such base impressions upon my soul as may make me to be justly abhorred by Thee, yet if Thou wilt Thou canst make me whole, which I most humbly beg, for Jesus Christ His sake.

"When I consider (O King of Heaven) what Thou hast so positively declared,—That no Whoremonger, nor Adulterer, nor Covetous person; that none who wrongs his neighbour in body . . . goods, . . . or name, . . . That neither the Drunkard, nor the Profane, can enter into Thy kingdom; when I do seriously consider, That all they are accursed who do err and go astray from Thy Commandments, my very soul is distracted with fear, and I am justly afraid of Thy Judgments hanging over my head.

"For the sake of Jesus Christ, avert them. Oh, good Lord, let it be Thy pleasure to stay Thy hand, that Thy great mercy and forbearance may oblige me to bring forth fruits meet for repentance. 1 John ii. 1. *If any man sin, we have an Advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the Righteous; and He is the Propitiation for our sins.*——Great God! what

[y] M. H., p. xlvii.

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comfort hast Thou given me in this Revelation, tho' my Transgressions have been many and great, yet I may still hope for mercy by the merits and intercession of Jesus Christ the Righteous.

"O! dear Advocate! look upon an afflicted Penitent, who earnestly desires Pardon and forgiveness. Receive a sinful Prodigal, who is sensible of and returning from his folly.

"O Lamb of God, that takest away, &c.

"And let not my God be angry with His servant who presumes to beg y^e^ same Pardon and Grace for others that I ask for my self, and especially for those unfortunate people, who by my example, by my advice, by my neglect of my duty, have been tempted to commit such wickedness as I now lament and confess; Lord, lay not these sins to their charge; give them Grace, before it is too late, to forsake the wickedness of their ways, to turn to Thee, in weeping, fasting, and Prayers, that Thou mayest have mercy upon *them*, and y^t^ Thou mayest deliver *me* from the guilt of *their* sins. Psalm li. Have mercy, &c.

"'Tis great presumption for one sinner to ask pardon for another.

"*Κύριε, ἐὰν θέλῃς, δύνασαί με καθαρίσαι.*

"*Κύριε, σῶσόν με, ἀπόλλυμαι.*

"For Thy Name sake be merciful unto my sin, for it is great. Tho' my sins are very many, and of a deep dye, yet I should have done worse, and fallen into much greater, if the merciful God had not prevented me by His gracious Providence.

"If y^t^ thro' the frailty of my nature, or the temptation of the Devil, I at any time forget these good purposes, Lord reduce me to my duty by what wholesome methods shall seem best to Thee. Lord, I make my prayer unto Thee, I hope, in an acceptable time."

Another page in the Memorandum-book unquestionably belongs to this time:—

"'*Επιστολ. πρὸς Εβραιους. κεφ. ιγ. γ.* [Heb. xiii. 3.]

"*Τίμιος ὁ γάμος ἐν πᾶσι, καὶ ἡ κοίτη ἀμιάντος· πόρνους δὲ καὶ μοιχοὺς κρινεῖ ὁ Θεὸς.* Octob. 27. '98.

"Blessed be the God of Heaven, our great Creator, Lord, and Benefactor, who knowing the wants and infirmities of all His Creatures, has by a most surprising goodness provided for all their necessities.

"And blessed be Thy holy Name, O Father of mankind, who knowing the weaknesses of our nature, and the manifold dangers to w^ch we are exposed by our irregular Passions, hast provided so honourable a remedy as marriage for our comfort and safety.

"Good God, grant that I may never transgress those just bounds w^ch Thou hast set me, to restrain the extravagant desires of my soul. To this end I beseech Thee, for the sake of Jesus Christ, to make that state of life comfortable to me, into which by Thy favour I am going to enter. It is not in man to direct his own steps, I do therefore flee to Thee, O Father, for Thy blessing and guidance in this great change of my circumstances; most humbly beseeching Thee to grant that I may do nothing unbecoming my office and the honourable station in w^ch Thou hast set me. Make her whom Thou wilt make my wife, *a meet help for me*, that we may live together to Thy honour and glory in this world, and be made partakers of everlasting glory and happiness in the world to come."

From the clause, "her whom Thou wilt make my wife," taken along with the date, it would seem that this passage was entered in the Memorandum-book on the very morning of his marriage; and who can say to how many it may have proved, and may still prove, a special blessing, either in the way of guidance or of penitence, when holy persons are led thus to set down their inmost thoughts and aspirations on such very delicate subjects—too apt to be trifled with and slurred over even by the well-meaning, just because they are so delicate? But in this, as in all Wilson's devotions, we recognize the true spirit of the Prayer-book.

His marriage.

Mary Patten was probably no new acquaintance of the Bishop's. They had lived near each other, and might have been on familiar terms ever since he came to Winwick; that is, for twelve years. She was now in her twenty-fifth year, having been born July 16, 1674; he was nearly thirty-five. They were married at Winwick, the entry standing

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thus in the parish register: "1698. Marriages. October 27. The Reverend Father in God Thomas Wilson, Lord Bishop of Man, and Madam Mary Patten of Warrington, by Licence." The officiating priest was Henry Finch, above-mentioned, who had been Rector of Winwick from the last month or two of Wilson's engagement in that parish, and had been made Dean of York in 1695. He had a brother, Edward, who married into the Stanley family, and on the death of Bishop Stratford (of Chester) in 1709 was made Rector of Wigan, which he resigned about four years afterwards. Both brothers are repeatedly mentioned in Wilson's devotions, among those for whose friendship he used to offer special thanksgiving, naming them along with Michael Hewetson and one other. In one place, commemorating Henry Finch departed, he adds, "My most kind and worthy friend for thirty years." This was in August, 1728; so that we see he dates the friendship from the time of his marriage, the remembrance of which was no doubt inseparably associated with the thought of him who solemnized it, living and dead. Edward was the elder of the two brothers, but the survivor by nearly ten years, dying Feb. 14, 173$\frac{7}{8}$. He too had preferment in the Chapter of York, being one of the Prebendaries. Both brothers lie buried in that Cathedral, and have monuments in the southern aisle of the choir.

Bishop Wilson, as his manner was, celebrated his marriage by preparing for himself and his wife a daily sacrifice of joint prayer, the form of which stands thus in his Memorandum-book[z]:—

"We were married at Winwick by the Hon^{ble} Mr. Hen. Finch. Octob. 27, 1698.

"1 Pet. iii. 7. *As being Heires together of y^{e} grace of Life y^{t} your Prayers be not hindred.*

"O God, by whose Providence we are made one flesh, look mercifully upon us from Heaven and bless us, and make us instrumental to the eternal welfare of each other.

"Keep us undefil'd members of the Church of Christ, y^{t} abiding in Thy fear and Love unto our lives end, we may depart in peace and in Thy favour, so y^{t} those who

[z] Sacra Privata, MS. ii. p. 72.

are left behind may not have reason to grieve as men without hope.

"Give us grace y^{t} we may faithfully perform our *marriage vowes*, y^{t} we may yield mutual help and comfort to each other, both in Prosperity and adversity, y^{t} we may live in perfect love and peace togeth^{r}, and in a comfortable Prospect of Happiness all our days.

"Grant, if it be Thy gracious will, y^{t} we may live to see our children Christianly and virtuously brought up, but if in Thy wisdom Thou shalt order it otherways, be pleasd in mercy to provide for their everlasting welfare.

"In y^{e} mean time give us grace y^{t} we may teach y^{m} and our Houshold y^{e} fear of God, and be examples to y^{m} of Pietie and true Religion.

"Continue to us such a measure of the good things of this world as to *Thee* seemes meet for us, and whatever our condition shall be, enable us to be content and thankful: vouchsafe us a share in y^{e} Happy^{ss} of y^{e} next life, and *Thy will be done* for what shall happen to us in this.

"The Lord bless, preserve and keep us this day, and all that belongs to us; the Lord make us innocent in our lives, usefull in our generation, prudent in our behaviour, obedient to His laws, and thankful for His favours.

"Grant these things, O Lord, for Jesus Christ His sake; y^{e} Spouse and Saviour of the Church. Amen."

In the preceding leaf of the same MS. is a touching instance of the dutiful and loving way in which he identified himself at once with his wife's family. He recasts the prayer for his own parents, given above, so as to give his wife's parents also a place in it. Thus it runs,—for I think best to insert it entire, since it is rather grounded on the previous form than a repetition of it:—

"My dear Father was born 1627.
"My dear Mother, St. Bartholm., 1624.
"Mr. Thomas Patten, my deares Father dyed . . . .
"My dear Wives Mother.
"'His me consolor victurum suavius ac si
Quæstor Avus, Pater atque meus Patruusque fuissent.'

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"'Fortunam reverenter habe, quicunque repente
Dives ab exilio.'

"*Honour thy Father and Mother* (*wch is the first commandment with Promise*) *that it may be well with thee. Ephes.* v. 2.

"*Whoso honoureth his Father, maketh an Atonement for his Sins. Ecclus.* iii. 3.

"*Whoso honoureth his Father, shall have Joy of his own children. v.* 5.

"*The Blessing of the Father establisheth the Houses of children. v.* 9.

"*Thy Father's dishonour is no glory to thee. v.* 10.

"*Help thy Father in his age and grieve him not, and if his understanding fail, have Patience wth him, when thou art in thy full strength. v.* 13.

"*He that angreth his Mother, is cursed of God. v.* 16.

"Blessed be God that I was born of Honest and religious Parents, and that such were the Parents of my dear wife.

"God Alm. grant that neither I, nor any of their offspring may grow regardless of Thee, or of our duty.

"O Lord, give me grace that I may ever Honr the memory of such as are dead, and the Persons of such as are alive.

"Forgive all the offences I have at any time committed against them, and avert those judgments that are the just reward of disobedience.

"Reward them Blessed Lord for their Love, and care and kindness to me.

"Increase the number of their days; keep them safe in body and mind; support them under all the infirmities of their declining yeares, make Thy Fatherly corrections as easie to them as to Thee seemes most meet, but make them usefull to their eternal welfare, wch the gracious God vouchsafe them in His own good time for Jesus Christ His sake."

Observe well the insertions. Thomas Patten, "my deares Father," was not living at the time, but Wilson did not know exactly when he had died; Mrs. Patten was still living, and long survived her daughter. The second Latin quotation may refer, not only to his own preferment, but to his wife's jointure also, which is known to have been something considerable.

As to Mary Patten's character, the affectionate testimony of her son (though he was but seven months old when she died) is fully borne out, as we shall see, by the sayings of her widowed husband, pouring himself out before God in grief for her loss. "This most excellent woman" (says the son, or rather Cruttwell speaking for him,) "was every way the companion of his soul; pious, devout, and charitable as himself." His own entry in his catalogue of "special favours" is simply, "I was marryed to M. Patten, an excellent woman (by whom I have had four lovely children), Oct. 27, 1698."

Certainly, as far as man can judge, there have been few instances in the recorded lives of God's servants, in which the gifts of grace, nature, and fortune, have been so visibly tempered for producing the greatest earthly happiness and usefulness, as in this outset of Bishop Wilson's married life. And very blessed, doubtless, were its results; although it pleased God to bring them about in a different way from what men would anticipate.

CHAPTER IV.

FROM HIS MARRIAGE TO THE BEGINNINGS OF THE ACT OF SETTLEMENT, 1698—1702.

Bishop Wilson continued with his own and his wife's friends in England not quite half a year after his marriage, availing himself perhaps so far of the permission granted in Deuteronomy to any of God's soldiers who had taken a new wife, to stay at home for a while and "cheer up his wife whom he hath taken." On April 6, 1699, he embarked again for his diocese, and arrived there in twenty-four hours: his memorandum being, "April 7, 1699, being Good Friday, I landed with my family" (the latter transcript, made after her death, says "with my wife,") "at Derby Haven." They must have spent their Easter at Castletown, where he might survey the progress of his new chapel: and between that and Bishop's Court he would have to conduct his wife along the same road by which he had himself approached it the year before.

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The Bishop resuming his work.

On Whitsunday, May 28, he writes as one settling in earnest to his pastoral work, after a twelvemonth of unavoidable distraction and excitement.

[a] "Memorandum, *Whitsunday*, 1699.

"Upon a serious review of my time past, I find that I have been too negligent of the duties of my calling; I do therefore resolve solemnly (being heartily sorry for what is past) that for the time to come, I will rectify (by the grace of God) my ways in these following instances; viz.

"*First*, More diligently follow my studies,—*Secondly*, Immediately regulate my devotions, and attend them Constantly, — *Thirdly;* Preach more Constantly than I have done,—*Fourthly*, Compose prayers for the poor families, in order to have them printed,—*Fifthly*, Endeavour with all my might to draw my heart from the care of the things of the world.

"And that I may not forget these purposes, I resolve that this Memorandum shall remain as a record against me, until I have thoroughly amended in these particulars. The God of Heaven give me grace to set about the work immediately, and give me strength to finish it. *Amen. Amen.*"

"We have little difficulty to believe," adds Mr. Cruttwell[b], "that these resolutions were strictly and religiously observed. His prayers and his sermons furnish a sufficient proof of his study; his prayers were constant and devout, with his flock and with his family; and three times a-day he communed with his own heart privately in his closet. During the fifty-eight years of his pastoral life, except on occasion of sickness, he never failed on a Sunday to expound the Scripture, to preach the Gospel, or administer the Sacrament, at some one or other of the churches of his diocese; and if absent from the island, he always preached at the church where he resided for the day. When in London he was generally solicited to preach for some one or other of the public charities, being much followed and admired; and many who heard him have remarked the great beauty of his prayer before the Sermon, particularly where he offers up prayers for those who never pray for themselves."

[a] M. H., p. 25.

[b] Life, p. xxiii.

The expositions here mentioned were probably delivered without book; and many of the remarks on and references to Holy Scripture, interspersed among his "Maxims" and *Sacra Privata*, may have been set down as hints for such work. As to his Sermons, it is well known that many—perhaps the generality—of them were carefully written out; and those which were preserved in Sion College shew by the numerous entries on them, often extending through a large proportion of the fifty-eight years, how small scruple he had of repeating himself—how little he cared to be original—in teaching men their duty.

His rule of family worship, on which of course he entered from the beginning, is set forth by Mr. Stowell as follows[c]; "The Bishop was regular and devout in the observances of family worship. The whole family constantly assembled in his chapel at six o'clock every morning during the summer season, and at seven in the winter, when he himself, or one of the candidates for the holy ministry who were inmates in his house, offered up solemn prayer. The evening sacrifice was performed in the same manner at a stated hour. As he arranged all his affairs with exact method, so he conducted his family devotions with particular order and regularity. At the appointed hour of prayer, a servant entered the room where the Bishop was sitting, and with a respectful bow, uttered these words, 'My Lord, all things are ready;' instantly the Bishop arose, and with holy joy applied himself to his favourite work. Whoever were his guests, or whatever was his employment, the morning and evening sacrifice was never intermitted. It is related that on one occasion, when he had a large company at his house, consisting of foreigners and persons of different religious persuasions, the servant entered the parlour at the hallowed hour with the usual intimation. His Lordship having apologized to the company for leaving them, telling them that he was going to pray with his people, immediately retired, but no sooner had he reached the chapel, than every one of his guests followed, as if constrained by an involuntary impulse and an irresistible attraction."

In this as in other instances one cannot but regret that

[c] Life, c. iii. p. 44.

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the biographers, who had both of them large opportunities of minute knowledge, should have contented themselves with general statements: e. g. every reader must feel how much more significant the anecdote last mentioned would have been had the relator put down what he might know of the names and denominations of those who formed the party, and also what the devotions consisted of. On this latter point, however, we have an intimation from the Bishop himself which appears to leave little doubt. In *Sacra Privata*, p. 196, he mentions having come to the knowledge of a most vile slander which had been propagated concerning him, and adds, "We immediately went to evening prayers, when to my great comfort the History of Susanna was the lesson appointed to be read;" for it was the 22nd of November. And at another time, March 25, 1727, he specifies the lesson for the day, Ecclesiasticus ii., as having helped him when he was "much perplexed about the attempts made upon the Episcopal Jurisdiction: and this" (he adds) "I cannot but remark, since to my exceeding great comfort and direction it has often so happened, I am persuaded, by the special Providence of God." In some way or other, we may be sure, he continued always mindful of the hint which his friend Hewetson gave him when first ordained, that he would be breaking the Church's "express command," if he did not "say Morning and Evening Prayer either publicly or privately every day." And the phrase, "*We* went to prayers," in the first of the quotations, would seem naturally to imply that his family joined in the service as a regular thing in his domestic chapel. As to his visitors and strangers accompanying them, the marvel in our days would be, happily, not that they did so, but that their doing so was accounted such a rare circumstance as to be worth setting down by way of an incident.

The mention in the Whitsunday memorandum of "Prayers for the poor families to be printed," is (as far as I know) the earliest hint at any thing like authorship which occurs in his remains. It was the germ, I suppose, of the "Plain and Short Directions and Prayers" which he published eight years afterwards at the end of his "Manks Catechism," as he sometimes calls it. That Catechism itself in Cruttwell's

Life is assigned to this year, 1699: but on what authority I know not, Wilson himself more than once assigning it to May 30, 1707. Perhaps Dr. Wilson told Cruttwell that the earlier date marks the time of the work first suggesting itself to his father, and Cruttwell confused this with the time of its completion and publication.

Some special advantages in his position.

And now we may imagine the brave and good Bishop fairly afloat, and in a condition to form some estimate of his position and probable course. No doubt in some respects the diocese was and is an eminently favoured one, in the judgment of one like him, whose heart was in his pastoral work. Taking numbers and extent together, it was no more than a single Bishop might very well oversee and control: not half so overwhelming, one may well believe, as one of our overgrown London parishes. The whole population of the island could not have exceeded 14,000: at least we are told [d] that when he was publishing his "short but exact" account of the island, twenty-eight years after this, the clergy by his order returned the population, and it came to 13,971 souls. These were dispersed over a space (speaking roughly) of thirty miles by ten or twelve: the extreme length of the island, from the Point of Ayre on the north-east to the Sound of the Calf on the south-west, being thirty-three miles, and the greatest breadth, from Douglas to Peel, about twelve miles. And a glance at the map will shew that Bishop's Court, although by no means in the centre of the Diocese, is so situated as to make it easy for a good horseman in the prime of life, such as Wilson then was, to visit any one of his seventeen parishes, (for there were and are no more,) transact business, and return, within the day, even in the then condition of the Manks roads and appliances for travelling: as he himself notices in his brief History of the Island [e]. Accordingly he set himself a rule from the beginning to let no Sunday pass without doing some public ministerial work somewhere or other in the Island, which to him, as to many who have come after him, was as one large parish. Of this unusual intimacy between the Bishops of Man and their flock, unhappily impossible in the enormous dioceses of

[d] Train, i. 31, 36; Waldron, p. 111, says 14,500.

[e] Works, 4to. i. 484.

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England, there is a token which meets every traveller's eye, —the circumstance, namely, that each parish church has a throne or seat for the Bishop. It is a regular part of the church furniture, as much so as the font or the pulpit.

His diocese then was manageable in extent and population, and his flock so distributed as naturally to call him out to a good deal of regular healthful exercise; and what is much more, for several reasons he was likely to find them, and did find them for the most part, a teachable and obedient people.

The Celts, in some sense more religious than the Teutons.

In the first place, they were of Celtic race—belonging, as I believe their language indicates, to the Gael rather than to the Cymry, so far as a distinction is to be made between those two branches; but anyhow they were Celts, with an infusion rather than an intermixture of Norwegian blood. For the Isle of Man, as other countries where the Norsemen established themselves in the ninth and following centuries, seems to have been occupied by them rather as masters than as colonists—rather as the English now hold India, than as their forefathers the Saxons came to hold Britain. Thus in the *Chronicon Manniæ*, quoted by Camden [f], Godred Crovan, the Icelandic chief, the day after he had won the Island by a decisive battle near Ramsey, A.D. 1066, "gave his army their choice, whether they would divide the lands of the Isle among them and live there, or seize upon the wealth and substance of the country, and return home with it. But his army was rather for spoiling the Island, and enriching themselves with the goods of it, and so for departing." There was no displacing of the ancient population: the staple of it, as of the language, continued to be Celtic not Scandinavian: the Norse was the dominant race for a certain number of generations, but it was in the way of military possession, not of emigration on a large scale; and when the connexion with Norway ceased, the Norse families were merged in the old Celtic, Welch, or Erse population. As for the Saxons, they never in the old times made any permanent impression upon the Island. It is said indeed [g] that Edwin of Northumbria won both Anglesea and Man to the dominion of the English:

[f] Or rather by Bp. Merrick, Brit., p. 1054. Lond. 1695.
[g] Bede, E. H., ii. 5, 9.

but only, it seems, as he won the Welch provinces; by compelling them to pay homage and tribute, not by actual occupation. From time to time also, when it was politically convenient, we find the sovereigns of Man owning fealty to England; but no mixture of English blood appears.

Now history seems to shew, taking one age and generation with another, that the Celtic races have been more disposed to receive and retain religious impressions with a sort of childlike faith—to believe in the mysterious and supernatural—to submit themselves to such as come among them with anything like credentials from above—than the more "practical" Saxon or Teutonic family.

To judge of this, we must not limit ourselves to the period itself of conversion and the generations immediately following. Almighty God in His condescension has usually seen fit to accompany the first offer of His Gospel with more or less of that kind of well-being which all men of all races are alike able to appreciate: with beneficent miracles, as in the early days of the Church; or with the gains and comforts of civilization, as mostly during and since the downfall of the Roman empire. The Saxons, no less than the Welch or any other people, were alive to these influences, and under them England became for a while such as to be called "a Land of Saints:" but I fear we must allow that the tendencies of the race, as largely exhibited in both hemispheres, are now quite the other way. It is come to be thought a part of our national "common sense" to believe as little as we can help of what we cannot see, and to be especially impatient of anything like "counsels of perfection." One may hope that this unquestionable evil is balanced, or even over-balanced, by a more general diffusion of a certain lower rate of goodness than may be found in countries which have a keener sense of the supernatural. It may be better to have an inferior standard, and in some sort act up to it, than avowedly to "hold the truth in unrighteousness." Meantime the fact (if so be) remains—that the Celtic races, such as they were 150 years ago, comparatively free from English intermixture, offered, so far, a more favourable field to one like Bishop Wilson coming among them, than any English diocese would have done, either then or at any time since. The very

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superstitions, which still took up so much room in their thoughts, and against which he had to wage continual war, were an indication of some sort of faith in the Unseen. It was a condition, so far, more hopeful than the mere materialism which so many of us have to deal with, and which every day seems to become more incurable, by how much more commonly it is educated into rationalism.

The Reformation in Man.

Accordingly it would appear that the two movements which had passed so recently over the Island in common with the rest of the British world,—the Reformation and the disturbance from Puritanism,—had left the people for the most part unaffected in their allegiance to the Church. As to the Reformation, there is a singular paucity of documents. It is not even certainly known who was Bishop, nor whether there was any Bishop at all, during the eventful years from 1532 to 1546. But there are two or three facts on record, which leave no doubt of Henry's having taken the whole matter, as in England, into his own hands. One is the suppression of the religious houses, of which there were in reality but two of any account in the Island, the Cistercian Abbey of Rushen, and the Priory near Douglas said to be founded by St. Bridget. Rushen, as connected with Furness of which it was a colony, might perhaps be included in the terms of the Act of Parliament confirming the surrenders of conventual property in England, but even so it was a stretch of authority beyond what had hitherto been claimed, that the English Parliament should legislate for the internal affairs of the Isle of Man; and no matter could touch the island more nearly, if, as has been said, the Abbot had been in the habit of "receiving one-third of the tithes of the island for the education of youth and the support of the poor[h]." Rushen was the very last convent suppressed, whether from any legal difficulty, or simply from its remoteness and its poverty compared with others, which may be judged of by the facts that the demesne lands surrendered to the King, in extent about 440 acres, are returned at £11 16*s*. 10*d*.[i], and that the whole pension to the retired religious persons of the Island amounted but to £24[k].

[h] Train, ii. 53.

[i] Dugdale, Mon. Angl., v. 257. ed. 1825.

[k] Browne Willis, Mitred Abbies, ii. 320.

Nevertheless there can be no doubt of the great utility and influence even of so small an establishment in the midst of a scanty and poor population; and it would appear that from very early days they had been instrumental in turning the thoughts of the Manxmen towards England as their only safe protector against piracies and inroads from the north and west.

Mr. Cumming[1] has printed from Rymer[m] an interesting document to this effect: a translation of which, made before the appearance of his work, it may not be irrelevant to insert here, as betokening the inbred inclination of Wilson's flock to trust themselves to Englishmen and to Churchmen.

In 1290, (18 Edw. I.) the Manxmen, always averse to the Scottish rule, took advantage of the death of Alexander III., and the subsequent claim of Edward to be Lord Paramount of Scotland, to put themselves under the special protection of the latter: and thus they express themselves, in acknowledgment of a favourable answer which they had received from him.

"To all the children of our Holy Mother the Church, to whose sight or hearing these presents may come, We the whole multitude of the inhabitants of the Isle of Man, send greeting. Whereas the magnificent Prince, the illustrious Lord and King of England, hath received the aforesaid Island into his hands to protect and defend, it having been of late wasted and beset with many miseries for want of protection and defence:—We also desire to be under his subjection and sovereignty, and we promise for the future to obey his commands, and be conformable to him, as to our Lord, in all things:—under penalty of 2,000 pounds of silver, if it come to pass that we in any way rise against or transgress his sovereignty, or with malice cast out and vex any of his people. The said sum we promise to pay in full, and absolutely and solemnly bind ourselves.

"And to the observance of the aforesaid we wish and yield ourselves to be bound in all our possessions wherever they be found; as also in our bodies, to be taken and chastised by any penalties whatever as to him may seem good: we putting aside, as of no avail to us, all secular modes of

[1] On Sacheverell, note 74.

[m] ii. 492.

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One can hardly imagine a more frank surrender: and the part of the conventual body in it is unmistakeable. It is as if the illiterate and simple parishioners should betake themselves in some common trouble to the clergyman or schoolmaster, and get him to draw up a document for them. And it appears that from that day forward the Isle of Man has been invariably loyal to the English Crown. According to the fanciful interpretation of its device, (the Three Legs with "Quocunque jeceris stabit,") as long as England and Scotland were separate, it was always kicking at Scotland and kneeling to England, as well as spurning at Ireland. The people accepted one after another the several governors of different families to whom the Crown of England from time to time deputed the feudal proprietorship of the island; and for the house of Derby especially (Bishop Wilson himself being witness[o]) they have "ever had a profound respect," along with their "jealousy for their ancient laws, tenures, and liberties:" that House on its part "always treating them with great regard and tenderness."

This their loyalty was severely tried at the Reformation, not only on the suppression of their religious houses by no act of any legislature, Manks or English, but by mere force taking occasion from an English Act of Parliament, (the government keeping to itself the proceeds of the conventual property down to the time of James I., who at length granted them to the House of Derby); but also by the absolute authority which Henry took to himself in regard of the Bishopric; transferring it, by another Act of his Parliament, to the province of York, and nominating to it in 1546[p], (very shortly before his death,) without any reference to the Lord of the Isle, who by the original grant is expressly made patron of the Bishopric. This Henry did with an express dispensation of his own act just made, so far as the Archbishop of York is concerned: for the mandate of consecration is directed to Bonner

[n] i. e. I suppose, the seal of the convent.

[o] Ubi supr., p. 480.

[p] Rymer, xv. 85, 88.

and others. And at the same time he made provision for the non-residence of the person appointed, Dr. Henry Man; he was to keep the deanery of Chester and two benefices *in commendam*. These arbitrary measures, as far as we are told, were silently accepted and endured by the whole island. It retained its strong will to submit itself absolutely to England; as the people seem to have done to their pastors, and their pastors to the government here. For we read of no trouble, either by displacement or separation, neither then nor in the following Tudor reigns; people went on, apparently satisfied that it was the same Church, only reformed.

The Commonwealth and Restoration.

So again, the progress and triumph of the Great Rebellion was not in Man as in England a signal progress and triumph of schism in the Church. It gave indeed an impulse to the complainants, in the discussions then going on between the Great Earl and many of his feudal subjects, regarding what is now called "Tenant Right." And it enabled the intruders to change the form of the Ecclesiastical Courts into something which they called a Will Court[q], in which, by way of penance, defamation and similar offences were punished by fine payable to the Lord of the Isle, and by acknowledgment on the Sabbath in a full congregation, the appeal being ultimately to the English government. All this would be the less felt, as the island had been so long without a Bishop; Earl James having, for whatever reason, kept the see vacant since 1643.

With episcopacy the Prayer-book also must have been nominally displaced. But that would make the less sensation, as there was not at that time nor long after any authorised version thereof into Manks, every clergyman reading it as best he might out of English into that language. An arrangement which gave every facility for continuing the use of it, as Bishop Sanderson and Dr. Sherlock did here, without professing or seeming to do so. One way or another it seems certain that the clergy in general kept their posts, and the Church of England also kept its place in the regard of the Manx people. William Christian himself, the champion of the Commonwealth party, in his dying speech com-

[q] Lib. Scaccar., pp. 50, 84; in the Records at Castletown, A.D. 1656.

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mended himself thus to the good opinion of his auditors[r]: "I need not inform you, for you all know, that I was brought up a son of the Church of England, which was at that time in her splendour and glory; and to my endless comfort, I have since continued a faithful member [of the same]: witness several of my actions in the late times of liberty."

Certainly, when the Commissioners of Earl Charles made their appearance in the autumn of 1660, Dr. Sherlock being one of them, their ecclesiastical work seems, as far as may be judged by the records, to have gone off more quietly than might have been expected. On an early day[s] they summoned the ministers to exhibit their letters of orders and of presentation: and they lost no time in enforcing the use of the Prayer-book, and catechising, the keeping also of the feasts and fast days; and among the latter not only the 30th of January, but also the 15th of October, being the day of Earl James's martyrdom, for which a special service is promised. And when Lent was drawing on, the Lord of the Isle put out an order, that "eating any manner of flesh should be utterly forborne by all manner of persons of what degree or quality soever, . . . during the time of this present Lent, and of all Lents hereafter," as also upon the fasting days; under the customary penalties, and with provision for customary dispensations. "This pious order of our Hon^ble^ Lord," Bishop Rutter commends to the several churches and clergy, and commands the wardens to see to its execution. In this as in everything else it was a sort of domestic and fatherly government, throughout deferring to Church rules, which the commissioners sought to realize. And I am not aware that any disturbance came of it. No St. Bartholomew's day followed; the Manx clergy, generally, seem to have conformed, and that cheerfully. There is an air of consideration and good temper about the whole matter on both sides, which promises well for the reviving establishment.

And such anticipations are, on the whole, fairly verified by the course of things till the arrival of Wilson, especially during the incumbency of Bishop Barrow, who yet was as

[r] Historical Notices, &c., prefixed to Peveril of the Peak, ed. 1853, i. 21.
[s] From papers in the Rolls Office, Castletown.

thorough a disciple in the school of Laud as any that could well be named. He had been a fellow-sufferer with Sherlock, as with Hammond, and Sanderson, and Taylor, and many other of the brightest lights in the English Church, during the siege of Oxford, and afterwards. It was a time which brought such men together in a way hardly possible otherwise, and in their enforced abstinence from parochial work for awhile, with the Oxford libraries on the one hand, and on the other the terrible experiments which were being made all around them on the practical tendencies of the several schools of theology, they had singular opportunities of profiting by such intercourse; of which to this day we reap the benefit in the revised English Prayer-book: and the Diocese of Man in that and the next generation had its full share of the same through the two friends Sherlock and Barrow; the one as we have seen resettling the Church there, the other setting about the Church's work in a way hardly known to the island before. So between them they prepared the place for Wilson, as one of them afterwards prepared Wilson for the place.

When Barrow left the island in 1669, being made Bishop of St. Asaph, which see for a short time he held with Man, the discipline went on *impulsu remorum*, in some good measure as he had left it, both during his absence and after his resignation, and all through the episcopates of Bridgman, Lake, and Levinz, and during the long vacancy which ensued. The records bear token, as might be expected, of comparative feebleness, but enough remained to be no small encouragement to a person trained like Wilson to work steadily by ancient rules. One may measure the advantage by what all know too well of the ruinous effects of the contrary course; clergymen now having almost universally to deal with parishioners to whom "godly discipline," notwithstanding the Prayer-book, is a name and no more; and Church absolutions but one degree less unreal than Church censures and penances.

To Wilson the memory of such a predecessor, and the thought of entering into his labours, must have been especially helpful. In his long intercourse with Sherlock he could not but hear much of what was going on in the

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island, and become insensibly familiar with many of its peculiarities, and with Barrow's way of treating them. He would not come quite as a stranger among the people.

Bishop Wilson's sympathy with the people—the poor especially.

And there were other considerations which would tell more or less in his favour. The isle is mainly tenanted by husbandmen and fishermen. Now Wilson's father was himself a husbandman, and all but a very few in the place where he was born and bred were occupied in one or other of those ways. From the circumstances of the isle there could not but be continual questionings between the Lord and his tenants; Wilson was from the same rank in life with the latter, but by several years of family intercourse had learned how to sympathize with persons in the position of the former. There was the disadvantage indeed of his not knowing their language; but to that defect in their Bishop they had been generally accustomed. And, as has been said, there were very few, if any, avowed dissenters in the island.

He continued of course his regular almsgiving, but soon found that as things then were both his gifts and his bargains must for the most part be made in kind and not in money. "[t] The annual receipts of the Bishopric did not exceed £300 in money. Some necessaries in his house, as spices, sugar, wine, books, &c., must be paid for with money; distressed or shipwrecked mariners, and some other poor objects required to be relieved with money, but the poor of the island were fed and clothed, and the house in general supplied, from his demesnes, by exchange without money. The poor who could weave or spin found the best market at Bishop's Court, where they bartered the produce of their labour for corn. Tailors and shoemakers were kept in the house, constantly employed, to make into garments or shoes that cloth or leather which his corn had purchased; and the aged and infirm were supplied according to their several wants."

"[u] As the Bishop had a poor's drawer in his bureau for the reception of all monies dedicated to charitable uses, so he had a poor's chest in his barn, for the reception of corn and meal, designed for the relief of the indigent. This chest he

[t] Crutwell, xxiii.

[u] Stowell, 86.

was in the habit of frequently inspecting, that he might be satisfied it was filled even up to the brim. At a season of unusual scarcity in the island, when, according to custom, he was inspecting the poor man's repository, he found it almost empty, whilst the family chest was abundantly supplied. He expressed great displeasure on the occasion, and gave a strict charge to the steward of his house, that whoever were neglected the poor should not. . . . When corn was measured for the poor he gave express orders to his steward not to stroke it, as was usual, but to give heaped measure. He often conversed with the objects of charity who applied for relief, and minutely enquired into the circumstances of their case. One day a pauper, who had a large family, calling at Bishop's Court, was asked by the Bishop how he contrived to get food for his children. 'May it please your Lordship, (says he,) I go round with my bag from house to house, and generally get a herring from each housekeeper. This is our food; and as to drink, we quench our thirst at the nearest stream of water.' 'Poor man! (says the Bishop,) that is hard fare; but mind you call here whenever you pass this way, and you shall get your bag filled.' Many a bag was filled, and many a family sustained by provisions from the stores of this generous friend of the poor." Severe as many considered him, and strong as his own sense was of the duty of economy, he professed that he would much rather permit the people to "outwit" him, as they often boasted of doing, —"would rather give to ten unworthy, than that one deserving object should go away without relief." "One day his steward told him that a poor man who had received a measure of corn at Bishop's Court went into the village in the neighbourhood and exchanged it for spirituous liquors. The Bishop expressed great sorrow when he was told of it; 'but, (says he,) I would rather he should have been relieved here, though he abused my charity, than that he should have gone away empty from my door.'" It came to be said of him, that he kept the beggars from every door in the island but his own[x]. Somewhat of this sort might follow from his keeping an account, according to his exact ways, of all applications from persons inhabiting the island. They

[x] By Mr. Philip Moore in his Funeral Sermon, Works, vol. ii. p. 636.

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were required to bring each a note from the minister of his parish, and those recommendations he kept regularly filed, and entered from them "the name and circumstances of his poor petitioners in a large book kept for that purpose, which he called *Matricula Pauperum*, or the Register of the Poor." "By this regulation the Bishop came in time to have an accurate knowledge of the state of the poor on the island, and knew how to suit his relief to their particular necessities. He formed a general acquaintance with these frequent visitors, and when 'the long-remembered beggar was his guest,' would speak to him with the kindness of a friend. An old man who lives in the neighbourhood of Bishop's Court, and whose memory is stored with the acts of beneficence which, when a boy, he daily witnessed at that hospitable dome, was lately recounting some remarkable instances of the Bishop's affectionate condescension to the poor, when his daughter remarked that his Lordship must have been entirely free from pride. 'Pride! pride!' (says the old man,) 'he had not a bit of pride in him.' This aged chronicler delights to recount the good deeds of our excellent prelate, and regards his having been 'fo laue Aspick Wilson,' that is, literally, 'under the hand of Bishop Wilson,' or confirmed by him, as a higher privilege than if he had been admitted into the noble order of the Knights of the Garter. On the inside of his cupboard-door he has inscribed the year of the Bishop's birth, which he considers as one of the most memorable eras in the history of the world. His mother having been employed about the Bishop at the time of his death, received the shirt in which he died, and bequeathed it to her son as a rich legacy. This shirt the old man was accustomed to wear for many years on great occasions and high festivals, and he has still one sleeve of it, which he preserves as an invaluable relic, and shews it to his particular friends."

The Church Courts of the Island.

The Bishop kept also another register, of which his biographers make no mention, under the title of *Episcopalia;* being a record, in very brief entries, of his proceedings in the Ecclesiastical Courts of the diocese, as well as of ordinations, confirmations, and other public acts. Unfortunately,

this register is now forthcoming for ten years only out of the fifty-seven of his episcopate, from 1720 to 1730. But we may feel certain, from his conscientious exactness in such things, that he kept it regularly both before and after that time.

In order to form a judgment of this department of his work, and the trials which it brought upon him,—the most stirring portion of his life,—it will be well to know something of the constitution and prerogatives of the several Church Courts of the island, such as he found them when he came there. By a "Church Court" I understand one which acts *pro salute animæ*, owns the Canon Law as its general rule, and tends towards excommunication as its final sentence. Of such there were in the Isle of Man three classes called Episcopal, the Bishop himself presiding, in person or by deputy[y]. First, the Summary Court, where one or both of the Vicars-General presided, in which the pleadings were and are almost entirely *vivâ voce*. It took proof of the wills of all persons dying in the summer half of the year, i. e. from St. Mark's day to St. Simon and St. Jude's, and granted letters of administration for all intestates, in unopposed cases: it gave sentence on claims by way of legacy or debt, and on other matters relating to the goods of the deceased; and also concerning tithes and other Church dues. An appeal may have lain from it to the Bishop, but his records make little mention of it, and indeed it had little to do with spiritual discipline.

That discipline, as practised in the Isle of Man a century and a half ago, dealt with cases first by the Minister, Churchwardens (four in number), and Chapter-Quests of the several parishes, holding a sort of inquest every third week, (an ordinance enforced especially by Bishop Barrow,) to take cognizance of all immoralities and other violations of discipline within their parish, for presentment at the several Chapter Courts. These were Courts held in circuit by the Vicars-General and Archdeacon's Official (for they commonly sat together) twice a year, in various districts, but generally in each "sheading" or sub-division of the island. The business of these Courts was the trying of the

[y] For the substance of this sketch of the Spiritual Courts of the Island, as well as for much other valuable and kind help, I am indebted to James Gell, Esq., of the Manks Bar, High Bailiff of Castletown.

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disciplinary causes, (which in most cases were disposed of summarily,) the admission of Churchwardens and Chapter-Questmen, the granting probate of wills, and administration of the estates of intestates. The functions of the Archdeacon's Official were confined to the proof of wills of persons dying between St. Simon and St. Jude's and St. Mark's day. If disciplinary causes and matters relating to wills and administrations in the Bishop's jurisdiction were not disposed of summarily, the case was remitted to the Consistory Court.

The Consistory is the highest of the Episcopal Courts, dealing, when called on, with all the cases before-mentioned, and besides them with certain which were reserved as episcopal causes. The proceedings in it are entirely documentary, sometimes by written plea or answer, and generally by evidence committed to writing. In some cases, e. g. where sentence of deprivation on a clergyman was to be pronounced, the Bishop's personal presence was required, in others his virtual presence by his Vicars-General was sufficient.

The Archdeacon had also his Court, in which he presided, generally by his official; but it seems to have been limited to testamentary business accruing within the winter half of the year, i. e. to questions arising out of the wills which were proveable in that particular Court.

For the purposes then of Church discipline properly so called, Bishop Wilson's main instruments (besides a Court of Correction, holden yearly just before Lent, according to the Prayer-book[z]) were the Chapter and Consistory Courts. The former were apparently a continuation of, or at least analogous to, the Rural Chapters usual in our dioceses before the Reformation, which themselves appear to have been the Church's customary mode of carrying out the Divine ordinances in St. Matt. xviii. and 1 Cor. v., vi. These Chapters here in England, being made up of all the instituted clergy or their curates, were convened by the rural dean as president at first every three weeks, then monthly, but more solemnly once a quarter, to take information from each other, or from the wardens or questmen or others, of irregularities committed in their respective parishes. And the

[z] See his Hist. of the Isle of Man. Works, 4to., i. 486.

priests on every Sunday immediately following the Rural Chapter were to expound to the people the sentences of excommunication[a].

From whatever cause, these Chapters appear to have generally fallen into decay for some time before the Reformation, and the good intention of reviving them, to which the *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum* bears witness, failed, I suppose, from this nation's general hatred of Church discipline. But in the Isle of Man it was not so. The rural Chapter Courts continued to be held, as was said, half-yearly, by way of circuit, the Vicars-General, one or both of them,—sometimes, in Kirk Michael at least, the Bishop himself,—sitting to receive the presentments from the local clergy and churchwardens. And the Consistory was always at hand, to be appealed to and determine the cause with comparatively little delay. Thus the idea of accountability to the spiritual power was continually kept up in the minds of all men. It had been the especial care of the Lords of the isle, during the greater part of that century which in England proved the overthrow of discipline, to strengthen and facilitate the exercise of it among those committed to their charge. To take the most critical point of all: whereas according to the common law of the whole Church an appeal would lie *somewhere* against the episcopal decision, and it was an old point of dispute in Man as elsewhere, whether that appeal should be made to the civil power,—the Governor with his council, commonly called "the Staff of Government,"—or to the Archbishop of York as metropolitan: this had been virtually decided in the sense favourable to the Church by an order of James, called the Great Earl of Derby, then only Lord Strange; who governed Man first as his father's representative, from 1628 to 1651. The "Ordinances and Statute Laws of the Isle of Man" contain the following order, promulgated by him, Nov. 22, 1636. "Forasmuch as the execution of Justice, and punishment of offenders, have of late been much delayed by unnecessary appeals from the Ecclesiastical Courts, sometimes to the Lord of the Island, sometimes to his Lieutenant or Captains, or his Deputie, and to the Temporall Judges and 24 Keys; for Reformation of delays hereafter, and for quietness and avoiding of Differ-

[a] Burn, Eccles. Law, Tit. Deans and Chapters, § vi.

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ences ... the Lord ... doth declare, direct, and appoint, that noe appeale shall hereafter be made from the Ecclesiastical Courts, to the Lieutenant or to the Captain, or his Deputie, or to the Judges or 24 Keys or any of them, for any cause depending or determined in the Ecclesiastical Courts, which do merely concern Government of the Church, Excommunications, Suspensions, Incests, Adultery, Fornication, Profanation of the Sabbath, Cursing, Probate of Wills and Testaments, granting of Administration, granting Tuition of Infants' goods, or merely subtracting of Tythes, or for or concerning the Defamations determinable or punishable by the Ecclesiastical Laws. Let these proceedings be no ways prejudicial to the privileges formerly enjoyed by the soldiers here under the Captain in garrison." (This express reservation of a disputed point of course adds strength to the general rule.) "These directions," he adds, were "to endure until his Lordship hath further considered of the consequence of this business, and do give further orders therein."

In all this there may have been, strictly speaking, no legal force at all: but it had been generally acted on since, saving the nine years of the Usurpation, during which time the courts substituted by Parliament failed to obtain such popularity as to hinder the island from heartily welcoming the restoration of the old arrangements by Dr. Sherlock; and they were so administered by Bishop Barrow in particular, as to make every one feel the wisdom and usefulness that was in them, especially by what he did towards abolishing the commutation of penances for money, and ensuring the activity and earnestness of his Vicars-General. So that the old discipline had on the whole in a very remarkable degree kept its hold on this one diocese. It was a reality in the Isle of Man, for years after it had come to be a shadow in the whole Anglican Church elsewhere.

The episcopal staff (so to call it) by which this system had to be administered, consisted of the Archdeacon and his Official, two Vicars-General, the Diocesan and Archidiaconal Registrars, and the Sumner or Summoner-General, who was a sort of Apparitor, to deliver citations, and serve the judgments of the Courts on the parties concerned. He had a deputy in each parish. The patronage of these offices was divided; a matter of small consequence so long as there

was complete sympathy between the Bishop and the Lord of the Isle, else tending to endless embarrassment, as Wilson by-and-by experienced. The Archdeacon, by an arrangement peculiar, as far as I know, to this among the British dioceses, was nominated by the Lord of the Isle: in consideration probably of being endowed with the rectory of Kirk Andreas, by far the wealthiest benefice in the island. He nominated of course his own Official, who, I believe, was always a clergyman. The Vicars-General were in like manner nominated by the Bishop; something like a claim was once put in, as we shall see, on behalf of the temporal government, but it was not sustained. They had a joint authority over the whole island, but it was usual for convenience to allot the northern division to one and the southern to the other. The Registrar's office too was in the Bishop's patronage.

The Archdeacon at the time of Wilson's arrival was the Rev. Archippus Kippax, from Ormskirk or its neighbourhood, and afterwards Vicar of that parish; one of the many cases in which the insular offices, both civil and ecclesiastical, were supplied, as was natural, from the neighbourhood and dependencies of Knowsley. The Vicars-General were Samuel Wattleworth, afterwards Archdeacon, and Robert Parr.

The Episcopal Archives, though abounding in curious matter, have not been so kept, even in Wilson's time, as to supply materials for a complete history of the insular discipline. We search in vain for anything like a statistical account of the business of the several courts—the causes, parties, judges, and sentences: such as might enable us at once to compare the episcopate of Wilson with those which went before and came after: or again, to judge of the practical effect of the constitutions of 170$\frac{3}{4}$. Rather it would seem that the existing entries professed no more than to record a few transactions among many, inserted from time to time *in perpetuam rei memoriam*, by the discretion or caprice of the several Bishops or Vicars-General. At least in very many instances we find an express direction from the Judge to the Registrar, such as the following in Bishop Barrow's time: "Mr. Crellin, record my Lord's Letter to the Quakers:" and in grave disciplinary causes, 1712, 1714:

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"Let this, with the Certificates annex'd . . . be returned to my Registr. Th. S. M." "Let all these papers be returned to me, that they may be put on record." However, we may believe that if we have in detail but a few cases out of many, we have all those which to the Bishop himself appeared at the time best worth preserving.

There do not seem to have been many such in the first five years of Wilson's episcopate. But he became of course intimately acquainted with the disciplinary courts, their rules and their working. It was a sphere to bring out his eminently practical qualities: and if we cannot trace him step by step, there are results early and important enough, whereby we may judge of his wisdom and energy: one of the most noticeable being the fact, that at the end of the five years, when an opportunity occurred of revising and reforming the whole system, there was, as will by-and-by appear, one important particular only in which he did not leave things as they were.

Clerical Delinquencies, 1698—1703.

In those first years he had to deal with at least three serious cases of clerical delinquency: occurring too in three of the principal cures in the island. In his own parish of Kirk Michael, June 10, 1699, the Churchwardens presented Mr. Henry Norris, their Vicar, for unchastity, upon common fame. The evidence must have been very damaging: for the Court pronounced Mr. Norris suspended *ab Officio et Beneficio*, until he had "acquitted and cleared himself of the said scandal, or made such demonstrations of his contrition and repentance, as shall give the Church just cause to receive and admit him to the exercise of his sacred function, and to the satisfaction of all good Christians; until which time the said Mr. Norris is not to execute any of the public offices belonging to the Church in any part of this isle, under the penalty of further punishment at the Court's discretion." But in about four months' time, "at St. Peter's of Peeltown, Oct. 12, 1699, the Lord Bishop, having convened the Clergy, restored Mr. Norris to the exercise of his ministerial function, upon his frequent petitions to that purpose, and having made evident demonstration of his sincere repentance." A fine at the discretion of the Bishop and Vicars-General was thought of, but does

not appear ever to have been levied: perhaps it might seem to savour of commutation, which the Bishop, like his predecessor Barrow, set his face against from the beginning. Mr. Norris went on so as to justify the Bishop's lenity, and appears to have been frankly trusted by him, until the day of his death, in 1717. The Bishop himself buried him, as appears by the entry in his Lordship's own hand in the Register of Kirk Michael parish: "The Reverend Mr. Hen. Norris having been Vic^{r} of this Parish upwards of one and Thirty Yeares, died Jan. 23, and was Buried the 25th. He left one son by his first wife, Mrs. X^{n} Fletcher, and one daughter by his second, Mrs. Mary Berkenhead."

In this case the Bishop's forbearance seems to have had the desired effect. It was far otherwise with the Vicar of Kirk Braddan, Mr. Robert Fletcher, who came under censure about the same time for immorality of the same kind. It was a singularly grave and painful case; a scandal to the island and a distress to the Bishop for years. The first mention of it occurs as early as June, 1698, within two months of Wilson's arrival in the island. Fletcher had been suspected and accused by his wife, and there is reason to fear that he added perjury to his other sins; for on Sunday, June 5, he and the other party appeared with compurgators, and made oath of their innocence. Three years afterwards, 1702, he was again charged, and could not deny his guilt: and this time (of course) it came before the Bishop, who, in the presence of his clergy, called on him either to resign his vicarage or stand a regular trial. His reply was a general confession, with promise of amendment on further trial. He was respited for a year: and the Episcopal Register contains a letter to the Bishop dated March 10, 170$\frac{2}{3}$, from Mr. Thomas Allen, Vicar of Kirk Maughold, and one of the senior clergy at the time, which evidently relates to this matter, and appears to have been preserved by the Bishop as a token that his clergy had concurred with him in what some might think undue leniency:

"*The* 10*th of March*, 1702.

"My Lord,—It may please the God of all mercy so to dispose his heart with such an unfeigned repentance and re-

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formation of life as may render him worthy of yo^{r} Lordship's clemency; and I am of opinion y^{t} if he doth ask y^{e} grace of God and improve it he is very likely to persevere in his purpose, and every good man ought to wish and pray to God in his behalfe, for a good success in his resolutions; and 'tis very gratefull to me y^{t} you have taken this method with him, and I heartily thanke [you for] this intimation of yo^{r} good pleasure to yo^{r} Lordship's most obedient

"Sone & Serv^{t},

"Thom. Allen."

But the kind forbearance was all in vain. The very first act of discipline recorded of Bishop Wilson under the new constitutions (of which an account will be given presently) was the final degradation of this unhappy man. It took place towards the end of the following Lent, at a court held in Douglas, April 6, 1704, the Archdeacon and both the Vicars-General, with eight others of the clergy, assisting. For in censuring or absolving a clergyman under any grave charge, Bishop Wilson never willingly acted without the concurrence of his presbyters.

"Mr. Robert Fletcher, Vicar of Kirk Braddan, having been twice admonished by the Ordinary (particularly about the 10th of March, 1702, by the Right Reverend the Lord Bishop in presence of the clergy) for his immoral and irregular course of life, w^{ch} he..owned and then disclaimed for the future both by word and writing with solemn promises and resolutions of amendment (as by the annexed petition may more fully appear):—Notwithstanding all w^{ch} he has again fallen into the same and more scandalons crimes, some whereof are presented by the Churchwardens and hereunto also annexed, and confessed in open court by him—all w^{ch} tend in a high degree to the dishonour of Almighty God and the offence and scandal of all good Xt^{us}:—and whereas the wickedness of the said Mr. Fletcher is arrived to that pitch that there is no room left for hopes of his reformation during his continuance in the ministry:—Therefore our said R^{t} Rev^{d} Lord Bishop has (in presence of the Clergy aforenamed, and the Churchwardens, and several other grave persons of the inhabitants of the parish) in the Name of our

Lord Jesus Christ, and [by] the power committed to His Church, solemnly revoked the Orders both of Priest and Deacon conferred on the said Mr. Fletcher, and the power of exercising any office w^ch^ those sacred Orders qualified him to perform; and has also discharged him absolutely from the ministry, and consequently from receiving any manner of tithes or other profits w^ch^ the laws of God or the land have provided for the honest maintenance of the Clergy; under pain of excommunication.

"And his Lordship has ordered this to be recorded in his Registry, to signify the Church's abhorrence of such irregularities, as also to discountenance them, and for the satisfaction of posterity." The profits due the next Easter are then sequestered "for the decent repair of the Vicarage houses;" and Mr. Gell is directed to publish this whole sentence in Kirk Braddan the next Lord's Day, April 9; and the publication is certified accordingly. It does not appear that Fletcher was ever restored.

On the same day in which Bishop Wilson began to deal with Norris's case, June 10, 1699, another clerical delinquency, though in comparison hardly to be so called, came before him. Mr. Thomas Christian, Curate of Ballaugh, had "out of his ignorance and indiscretion rendered himself obnoxious to the Temporal Court for fine and punishment, by the sense and verdict of a Jury of Inquisition, as appeared upon the Records of that Court." "Therefore the Church thinks fit, and so has declared, that the said Mr. Christian be suspended *ab Officio* till he has acquitted himself from the censure of the Temporal Law according to the usage and practice of this Island, or till the Church see just cause to revoke this suspension, and restore him to the exercise of his functions." Nothing more is recorded of this: but I mention it as indicating the Bishop's scrupulous care from the beginning to enforce on his clergy the necessity of exact obedience to the temporal law.

It will have been observed that in Fletcher's affair the method of compurgation was tried, and issued, one may well fear, in perjury. Yet Bishop Wilson approved and continued the practice, and there are contemporary instances on record,

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which may help to explain this: instances in which the honour of young women was vindicated by means of this compurgation from the loose or malicious talk of profligate men[c].

Perhaps Bishop Wilson and his coadjutors considered, that as it is a sound principle in English law rather to let ten criminals escape than one innocent man suffer, so honest and blameless persons were not to be deprived of the opportunity of clearing themselves lest false ones should abuse it to perjury.

Improvements in the Demesne and Diocese.

In the mean time he was proceeding regularly with the improvement of his demesne, in which he took an honest pride, as many passages in his writings shew. I have been favoured with a copy of a paper in his hand-writing, headed, "A particular account of the Demesne of Bps. Court, as it has been sett for several years last past; y^e^ Rent yearly payable at All Saints." He concludes it thus: "The whole comes to £39 19*s.* 10*d.* Those that come after will find that I have improved these demesnes to double their value without oppressing of one person, only by the expenses I have been at, which for 8 years past at a modest compute comes to 100^lbs^ ready moneys. July 26, 1706. Thos. Sodor and Man." Tradition adds, that one part of his agricultural skill, much thought of at the time, was his teaching his neighbours the use of marle for a top-dressing, there being good store of it in the northern parishes of the island[d].

All this being watched by the farmers and labourers around him, helped forward his influence among them, we may be sure, in no small degree: as other great Bishops have been helped in their missionary work by their knowledge of navigation and other arts of civilized life. "He paid[e] particular attention to the advancement of agriculture throughout the island, and his own demesne exhibited to the eye of every passenger the advantages of this useful art. He maintained a familiar intercourse with the yeomanry of the country, often invited them to his table, and conversed with them on such topics as were calculated to improve the head

[c] See note (A) at the end of the chapter. [d] See History of the Isle of Man, p. 477. [e] Stowell's Life of Bishop Wilson, p. 92.

and heart. At their departure he generally presented them with some instructive book, which was sure to be highly valued and carefully perused, as coming through his hands, and attended with his recommendation. If any useful treatise on agriculture had been recently published, it soon reached the Bishop's library, and was brought into immediate circulation in the island. He was solicitous to diffuse light and knowledge in all directions." Among the few traditions concerning him, remaining to our own time in the island, this point is distinctly marked. In 1849 there was an old man named Cottier living near Bishop's Court, whose father had worked under Bishop Wilson; and by him the writer of these lines was told (among other things) that the old Bishop had a Welch bailiff (of whom we shall hear more by and by), but that he was himself the better farmer of the two; that he was very strict, keeping every body as well as himself well up to their work, but withal kind and good-natured; as an instance of which, he would encourage his workmen in Christmas games and festivities, saying that they would serve their heavenly Master, as well as their earthly one, all the better[f].

Between these pursuits and the regular exercise of his sacred calling, the first years of his episcopate appear to have passed quietly on. One special work of 1699 was a little more church-building. Castletown was being completed at the Lord of the Isle's charge, and the Bishop could not rest without doing something for himself in that way. He therefore commenced on his own account the body of St. John's Chapel in St. German's parish, where the solemn services connected with the Tinwald[g] are celebrated. It was not finished until 1704, though it cost him but £40. This looks as if he kept his expenditure in that kind quite up to his available funds.

[f] The same man spoke also *con amore* of Bishop Hildesley, who he said was not so clever as his predecessor, but very good; a little inclined however to be hot sometimes, of which, and of his humour, he gave the following instance. The Bishop, who was fond of his garden, had a Manks gardener who was very provoking and disobedient; so he had a piece of wood rudely carved into a sort of image, and set it up in his garden, calling it by the gardener's name, and when the original was very affronting, he would appease himself by knocking the image down with his staff. Bishop Hildesley's remaining letters give quite the idea of one playful enough for this.

[g] See History of the Isle of Man, p. 487.

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In the same year he set about establishing Clerical and Parochial Libraries in the island on the plan of Dr. Thomas Bray; an undertaking which continued to interest him as long as he lived.

His visit to London at the time of his consecration had providentially coincided with the juncture at which the labours of Robert Nelson and others were beginning to bear their well-known fruit, as in other ways so especially in the establishment of the great Church Societies, whereby we are enabled to answer in some sort, when we are reproved with the dullness and deadness of the century then commencing. Wilson could not but throw himself into such an effort: he did so at once with all his heart, and continued through life a thankful admirer and supporter of it in its several departments. At this time he seems to have become especially intimate with the above-mentioned Dr. Bray—a name less known than it ought to be among the promoters of English missionary work. Dr. Bray's history is shortly this. He had been called by Bishop Compton, of London, from his country parish, Sheldon in Warwickshire, to be his Lordship's Commissary in Maryland, where the Governor and Assembly were then forming a parochial establishment after the English model; only with one unfortunate exception—that it does not seem to have occurred to any one, either there or here, that a Bishop was a necessary part of such an arrangement. However, Dr. Bray devoted himself to the office with admirable energy and self-denial, but it was three years and a-half before he could sail; he residing meantime in London, and engaged entirely in providing missionaries for that and other colonies, and libraries of good books for their use. In course of correspondence to this end he became more fully aware than he had been of the great want of Clerical Lending Libraries in England, and began to include them in his exertions; and among other steps, agreed with his friend Bishop Wilson for an institution of the kind in the Isle of Man; which is thus recorded, as matter of especial thankfulness, in *Sacra Privata*[h]:

[h] MS. iii. 55. Dr. Bray, his biographer tells us, "had something farther in view than his design of having publick Libraries for the Parochial Clergy in every Deanery: which was to reduce into practice, and to restore more and more by degrees, the ancient use of Rural Deans, and the jurisdiction pertaining to their respective deaneries:" the libraries serving as places of clerical conference to be conducted under good rules; of all

"*Parochial Librarys*, 1699. By y^e^ encouragment and assistance of my worthy Freind Dr. Tho. Bray, I began this year a Foundation of Par. Libr. in this Diocese; w^ch^ by the Good Blessing of God upon His servant, I have been improving ever since with Books both Practical and Devotional."

Another and a larger work—no less than the Society itself for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts—arose incidentally out of this task of Dr. Bray's. For being brought officially to completer knowledge of our sad deficiencies in that duty, and finding that he could get nothing done by the State, he sketched a plan for a voluntary society, and laid it before the Bishop of London: so a beginning was made, and at the end of four years, Apr. 7, 1701, the undertaking had so thriven, that upon the petition of Dr. Bray himself, now returned from his first voyage, the first formal step was taken for incorporating the Society by royal charter[i]. With this plan from the beginning Bishop Wilson thoroughly sympathized: as will distinctly appear by and by.

The sister Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, which had commenced with a meeting of five persons, Dr. Bray being the only clergyman among them, March 8, $169\frac{8}{9}$, did on Oct. 31 ensuing, agree on a list of "Correspondents," among whom are found the names of Sir William Dawes of Bocking, Mr. Bragg of Hitchin, Mr. Wesley of Epworth, and Dr. Wilson, Bishop of Man. Thus it appears that he was not without his share in the inauguration of both the great movements of the time.

Domestic Trials and Blessings.

Wilson's domestic blessings were crowned by the birth of a daughter, Sept. 8, 1699[k]. I find no record of her baptism, but she was named Mary after her mother. No doubt such an event must immediately have added a page to the *Sacra Privata*, but the prayers for his children now extant in the MSS. are all of them of later date, such as use the singular number belonging to a time when the youngest only was surviving[l].

But there is a prayer in the Memorandum Book, the

which the first of the kind, in Dr. Bray's former neighbourhood, seems to have furnished a good pattern.

[i] For all these particulars see Biogr. Brit., art. "Bray," vol. ii. pp. 967—976.

[k] Cruttwell says, "Sept. 9." It stands 8 in the MSS.

[l] Sac. Priv., pp. 21—24; this edition.

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composition of which may be probably assigned to this time. It is headed, "Before a voyage, for my Mother-in-Law[m]:" and is just what one may imagine Mrs. Wilson and her mother asking for, supposing them about to be separated by the mother's return to England at the end of a visit occasioned by the daughter's first confinement. Thus it runs:—

"[n] *Before a voyage, for my mother-in-law.*

"Great God, under whose protection we are alike safe in every place, whither Thy Providence calls us; let Thy great goodness and mercy to all that call upon Thee in their necessities be with us at this time. Be merciful unto our sins, which may hinder Thy blessings from falling upon us. Preserve this Thy servant from the dangers of the seas, and from every sad accident, and bring her to her friends in safety, if it be Thy gracious will. Give us the comfort, O God, of hearing of her welfare, and of meeting her in peace. But most earnestly we beseech [Thee] to grant that we may one day [meet] in heaven, to praise our good God for His mercies vouchsafed to us on earth, through Jesus Christ our Lord, in whose, &c."

A fortnight after his child's birth, Sept. 24, he held his second ordination, for one deacon only, John Christian. A year and a half passed before it was followed by a third, March 11, 1700: in which, as in the former and in some subsequent instances, he had to deal with one candidate only, and must have been forcibly reminded of his own entrance into the ministry. This candidate was William Walker, son, Mr. Stowell tells us[o], of a poor widow somewhere in the southern district of the island. At twelve or thirteen years old he was servant to Mr. Stevenson of Balladoole; "and in the harvest his business was to drive one of the cars which were used at that time for carrying home corn . . . One day in autumn, while sitting on his empty car, he took his book out of his pocket, and began to read with such profound attention, that the horse taking advantage of it, and getting the halter off his neck, ran furiously down the lawn before the parlour windows, at one of which Mr.

[m] *prima manu*, "for my friends." [n] M. H., p. 93.
[o] Life of Wilson, App. iv. p. 415.

Stevenson was standing. He stopped the horse, and coming to the car, found the boy with his book still in his hand, and said to him, 'Since thou art so fond of reading, thou shalt have enough of it.' The very next day he sent the boy to the Castletown Academy, where by his diligence and good conduct he made a rapid progress in classical and academical learning, and at a proper age offered himself a candidate for the holy ministry." It was a momentous day for the Bishop; for this young man came afterwards, as we shall see, to be very high in his confidence and friendship; the chief of his fellow-workmen and fellow-sufferers.

Twice in the course of that year, 1700, he had been led to mark in his diary certain days, as bearing tokens of "the good Hand of his God upon" him. The first, the birth of a son, Oct. 12. And the Kirk Michael Register contains this entry, "Christenings 1700. Thomas Wilson son to the R^t^ Rev. Bpp. Octo. 24." To this date one may naturally refer his prayer for his children, as it stands in *Sacra Privata*, No. ii. p. 74. He could not before have used the plural number.

Ps. cxxvii. 4.—"*Children and the fruit of the womb, are an heritage and gift y^t^ cometh of the Lord.*"

"O God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, for His sake be gracious unto the children which Thou hast given me[p]: preserve them from dangers and all sad accidents, give them healthful bodys, understanding soules, and sanctify'd spirits, y^t^ they may remember their Creator all their days.

"Let me not be wanting in any part of my duty towards them; give me grace to instruct them in the true Religion; gently to correct their failings; honestly to provide for their necessary support, and to be an example to them of true Pietie, Sobriety, and Diligence.

"But if I don't live to be and do this unto y^m^; be Thou, O God, their *Father*, their Guide, their Support, and their Portion in this life and in the life to come.

"Let Thy restraining grace preserve them from the temptations of an evil world; Let them seriously consider

[p] This word "me" has a line drawn across it in the MS., and "us" inserted above, in a different handwriting. May it not be Mrs. Wilson's? The same hand appears again in the MS. Prayer for a Penitent Woman. M. H., p. lxxix.

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the Vowes that are upon them, and continue in y^t^ state of Salvation, unto w^ch^ Thou hast called them, unto their lives' end.

"And when they have done good in their generation, Lord receive them into y^e^ Inheritance of Thy Dear Son; for whose sake I humbly beg to be heard. Amen."

To this, at two distinct intervals (so the handwriting indicates), he added the two following fragments.

"*My children*, If I don't live to tell you why I have sav'd no more for you out of my Bishoprick, let this satisfye you, that the less you have of goods gather'd from the Church, the better the rest that I leave you will prosper. For Church Livings were never design'd to make Families or raise Portions out of them, but to maintain our Families, to keep up Hospitality, to feed the Poor, &c. And one day you'll be glad that this was my settled opinion. And God grant that I may act accordingly.

"Remember that the daughter of a Priest, if taken in a fault, was to be put to death, under Moses' Law. Lev. xxi. 9."

After this comes, "I never expect, and I thank God I never desire, y^t^ you or y^r^ Children sh^d^ ever be great: but if ever the Providence of God raiseth any w^ch^ proceed from my Loyns to any degree of worldly wealth or Hon^r^, I desire they'll look back to the Place and Person from whence they came. This will keep y^m^ Humble and Sober-minded. And above all things I desire they'll never think y^m^selves too good to be Servants, Immediate [Servants of the Most High[q]]."

The other entry alluded to is this[r]: "Munday 10^ber^ 9^th^, 1700. Ab^t^ 2 this morning a fire broke out in the chamber over me, w^ch^, by God's good Providence (to w^ch^ I ascribe all the blessings and deliverances I meet with), I soon extinguish'd; had it continued undiscover'd but a very short space, the wind was so high, in all probability it w^d^ have reduced my house to ashes.

"Bless'd be God for this and all other His mercies vouchsaf'd to me and to my family; God grant that a just sense of His obligations laid so often upon me may oblige me to

[q] So we may conjecture the last sentence to have run: but from the word "Immediate" is a reference to a side-note, "vid. last page but one of this book:" which page is torn out.

[r] M. H., p. lxxxvi.

such returnes of gratitude, as becomes such mighty favours. Amen."

Hitherto Bishop Wilson's domestic happiness had been, humanly speaking, unclouded. But in the following year, 1701, heavy shadows began to pass over it. It appears that for some reason or other he was unusually anxious to get over to England in the spring of that year. But his voyage was delayed, perhaps by the following circumstance. Immediately after the Lent ordination, March 11, 170$\frac{1}{2}$, we find Lord Derby on a visit to the island: for on March 14 he issued a notice from Castle Rushen, offering "for every Kite or Raven destroyed there a reward of 1^{d}., and for every 'Scarecrow' or Magpie $\frac{1}{2}^{d}$.[s]" Now for reasons which will appear by and by, the Bishop must have been at this time particularly desirous to be as near the Earl as he could. Moreover, the chapel at Castletown was nearly finished, but did not prove ready for consecration until April 11, 1701; at which date is entered in Wilson's memoranda, "I consecrated the Chapel at Castletowne, the Lord of the Isle being present; who desired me to give orders touching the seats," &c. April 11th in that year was the Friday before Palm Sunday; and the remarkable thing is, that a day in that Holy Week, Maundy Thursday, was chosen by the Bishop and Mrs. Wilson for going on board with their children to visit England the first time since their marriage; as it had been selected before, for their first approach to the island. There must have been some very pressing cause; and what followed may lead one to suspect that it was the state of the younger infant's health. They were twenty-four hours in crossing, and landed at Hylake, or Hoylake, near the mouth of the Dee, on Good-Friday, April 18. We are not told it, but it seems natural to fancy that they took Burton on their way to Warrington, that the Bishop's own father and mother might see his little

[s] "And if they be such as may be taken out of nests, $\frac{1}{2}$ as much." Earl William was a great encourager of game. Sacheverel, five years before, (Short Survey, p. 13,) mentions his having "lately sent over some Fallow Deer into the Calf, w^{ch} is a very pleasant island, near five miles in circuit, and has all the variety and beauty (trees excepted) of any park I ever saw." "The Earl has likewise sent over Partridge, w^{ch} thrive very well." Bishop Wilson, thirty years afterwards, complains of "a person more fanciful than prudent or kind to his country," who had brought in a brood of magpies, which had "increased incredibly, so as to become a nuisance." History of the Isle of Man, Works, 4to., vol. i. p. 478.

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ones. But in about seven weeks after their arrival at Mrs. Wilson's former home, on Whitsunday, falling that year on June 8, God took the tender little child to Himself. "Whitsunday, 1701. About midnight my son Thomas dy'd of a Fever and Chincough." And to this day may be seen in Warrington churchyard, on a flat stone, not far from the Patten mortuary chapel, "Thomas, son to Thomas Lord Bishop of Man . . . 1701." And the second entry in what may be called the Bishop's Diptychs, the list which he kept of departed friends, is, "My first Thomas dyed June 8, 1701."

One of the most touching pages of his private devotions bears especial marks of the affliction of that day. Not occurring in either of the three MSS. of *Sacra Privata*, it has been omitted in this edition, though inserted by Dr. Wilson in that work. But the place and form of its appearance in the Hewetson Memorandum Book [t] plainly indicate that it was the very prayer with which he was enabled to relieve himself on his son's death, and that he had recourse to it in following years, when God's hand was heavy upon him.

"Psalm xxxix. 11. *When Thou with rebukes dost correct man for iniquity, Thou makest his beauty to consume away like a moth.*

"O merciful God, who in Thy wise Providence dost so order even natural events, that they serve both the good of the Universe and for the conviction of particular sinners, so that men shall have reason to acknowledge Thy glorious attributes:

"I do with great sorrow of heart, but with all submission to Thy good pleasure, confess Thy mercy as well as justice to me in the *Judgments, afflictions, sorrows of this day* [u].

"I acknowledge Thy Voice, O merciful God, I acknowledge my own *transgression* w^ch^ provoked Thee to speak to me after this manner, and at this very time.

"O Lord, give me true Repentance for all the errors of my life, and [in] particular for that w^ch^ was in all probability the occasion of this day's affliction.

"Blessed be God that my punishment was not as great as my crime [x].

[t] pp. lxxxviii., lxxxix.

[u] In marg., "God speaketh once, yea twice."

[x] "We are verily guilty concerning our Brother—in that .. therefore."

"Blessed be God that He has given me time to repent of the Sin y^t provoked Him to deal with me after this manner.

"Blessed be God, that when He spoke to me once, yea twice, y^t I regarded it at last.

"Good God of mercy, grant that I may not provoke Thee any more to repeat this word to me, but that I may faithfully perform those vows that are upon me. This I cannot do without Thy gracious assistance, w^ch I most humbly beseech Thee to vouchsafe me for J. Xt his sake, who by His merits has purchased this grace for all y^t faithfully ask it of Thee: for His sake, O merciful God, grant me this grace. Amen. Amen.

"*Upon Whitsunday.* *The 29^th of May.* *June y^e 3^d*, 1703.
1701. 1702.

"I do in all humility accept of the punishment of mine iniquity. Lev. xxvi. [41.]

"I will hold my peace and not open my mouth, because it is Thy doing and my deservings.

"I know, O God, that it is good for me to be troubled, or Thou wouldst not suffer it so to be.

"Let Thy merciful kindness be my comfort, according to Thy Promise to all that love and fear Thee."

The two latter dates, with the ejaculatory clauses following, are subsequent insertions in the MS., of which the occasions will appear presently.

Ten days after his son's death, June 18, we find him, probably at Burton, witnessing the execution of his father's last will, a document which gives internal evidence of having been at least retouched by his hand.

He was at the same time suffering himself from another no small anxiety of a different kind: as we gather from an entry in his list of "extraordinary deliverances:"—"[y] From the great trouble going to befall me on account of the Academick Place by Archdeacon Marsden, Aug^t, 1701." It appears from Le Neve[z], that Archippus Kippax resigned the Archdeaconry of Man in 1700, and went to reside on his Vicarage of Ormskirk. Christopher Marsden succeeded him, and took the oaths of office, as the records shew, June 8, in

[y] MS. i. 173; iii. 60. [z] Fasti, iii. 330.

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that year. In the following year he was drowned at sea, having embarked at Liverpool for the island: and the "deliverance" mentioned by the Bishop must refer either to that event, or to something previous. For some years afterwards the Bishop was involved in a lawsuit, as trustee of Bishop Barrow's endowment for clerical education, part of which was assigned for the maintenance of an "Academick Master," part for exhibitions to theological students. And one may conjecture that the new Archdeacon was about to deal with the former subject at least in a way which Wilson thought would do serious harm. But I have not been able to learn any particulars either of his character or his proceedings. The Bishop's words *might* very well refer to an amicable arrangement made before Marsden's departure, when they were both in England together.

For the Wilson family did not return to the Island until September in that year. "Sept^{r} 16th, 1701 [a]. I and my family landed in Derby haven after a favourable passage of 24 houres."

The family was enriched in the course of the ensuing winter by the birth of a daughter, Feb. 24, 170$\frac{1}{2}$. She was baptized at Kirk Michael, March 4, by the name of Alice, after the Bishop's mother, and, I conjecture, after his grandmother also,—the person whom he so delights to honour in his biographical sketch of Dr. Sherlock. So the parents were comforted after the death of their first-born son; but in a few weeks they had to put on mourning again. For the next memorandum relating to the family history is indeed a very serious one:—"My dear Father dyed, May 29, 1702, aged 75; being Fryday after Whitsunday [b]:" in the same holy season, which the year before had taken the Bishop's first-born son from him, and just as the Bishop was preparing for a solemn rite: for on Trinity Sunday, May 31, he ordained Mr. Walker and two more priests. Mr. N. Wilson was buried on the following day, May 30: so says the parish register. So speedy an interment would lead one to surmise that he must have died of some infectious disease. But it is not so recorded. A large flat stone at the west end of the church commemorates him as follows:—"Nathaniel

[a] M. H., lxxviii.; MS. i. 273. [b] MS. i. 235.

Wilson, May 29, 1702—Alice Wilson—Had issue Samuel, James, Joseph, Sarah, Benjamin, Thomas Bishop of Man, Mary."

Bishop Wilson's father, if ever any man, might be likened in his departure to "a shock of corn" gathered "in its season." He seems to have been a thorough specimen of an English yeoman, working steadily on, and blessed by God in his work. His last Will may speak for him; for it shall be here inserted entire, since those who take an interest in Bishop Wilson cannot but be pleased to see what manner of man his father was; to trace the Bishop's hand (which seems to me very discernible) both in the wording and substance of the document; and to have, possibly, opportunity given by its details for completing the family history, and throwing light on the claims of those who believe themselves related to him.

"[c] In the Name of God, Amen. I Nathaniel Wilson of Burton in Weral, tho' in perfect health (God be praised for it) of Body as well as mind, yet y^t^ I may not in the last minute of my life be disturbed with the cares of this world, I do now make this my last Will and Testament as follows, viz., I leave my body to be decently bury'd as my Executors shall think fit, in hopes of a blessed Resurrection; and that my Estate with w^ch^ it has pleased God to bless me in my life time may not after my death be an occasion of disturbance to my posterity, I dispose of it as follows: First, I leave to my son Sam^l^ Wilson the Land in Willison called the Three Nooks, he paying to his two children Joseph and Ann each five pounds within 4 years after my decease, the land for want of issue to return to the rest of my children or their issue: Secondly, I leave to my son Benjamin Wilson the House and Croft in West Kirby [d] by me lately purchased, as also y^e^ two fields called y^e^ Broad Hey and Croft Millen in the same township, he paying to my son Joseph Ten pounds within two years after my decease, as also to y^e^ sons of my son Gerrard Macklin, if they shall then be alive, viz. Thomas

[c] Extracted from the District Registry of Her Majesty's Court of Probate at Chester.

[d] West Kirby is the extreme point of the district called Wirral, out towards the Irish Sea. The Editor was informed by the late Rector, the lamented Canon Slade of Chester, that no record or tradition of Benjamin Wilson exists there, so far as he could find.

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and Gerrard Macklin, each five pounds within 4 years after my decease, as also to his own children, viz. Mary, Nathaniel, Ann, and Thomas Wilson to each five pounds, to be paid to y^m^ by Five pounds a-year within eight years after my decease. And my Will is y^t^ for want of issue the said land, house, and croft shall return unto the rest of my children or their Issue. Thirdly, I give unto each of my Grandchildren w^ch^ shall be alive at the time of my death Five pounds, except such of them as are before mentioned to have legacies in this Will. My personal Estate I leave entirely to my Wife if it shall please God y^t^ she shall outlive me, to be by her dispos'd of as she pleases amongst her children and grandchildren; to whom I leave my blessing, wishing y^t^ they may live so as to have a just expectance of y^t^ blessed immortality w^ch^ I hope to be partaker of when this my Will shall become of force, at w^ch^ time I appoint my Wife Alice Wilson, and my sons Sam^ll^ Wilson and Gerrard Macklin, to see y^t^ this my Will be put in execution according to the true intent and meaning of it: To whose discretion, if I don't otherways order it before my death, I leave the disposal of some part of my goods to the poor, for they very well know how God has blessed me in whatever I have put my hand [to]; To w^m^ be Glory for ever, Amen, This eighteenth day of June, Añq. [Annoque] Dom. 1701.

NATHANIELL WILLSON, (L.S.)

Sign'd, seal'd and delivered in the presence of us,—

"THO. SODOR AND MAN.

"ROB^T^. MADDRELL.

"MARY M. WILSON of Saughold.

"On the thirteenth day of January, One thousand seven hundred and two, the Will of Nathaniel Wilson, late of Burton in Wirrall, in the County of Chester, deceased, was proved at Chester in common form of Law by Samuel Wilson and Gerard Macklin, two of the executors (power reserved to Alice Wilson, Widow, the other executor), The right of every person being saved and time allowed to exhibit an Inventory."

The equity (so to call it) of this disposition is very noticeable. He died leaving four sons, two of whom besides the Bishop were married and had families; the fourth, Joseph,

was single. To the two former he gives his land: the better part of it, that in West Kirby, to Benjamin, who had four children, that in Willison to Samuel, who had only two; and he burdens each portion with payments according to its value. To Joseph, who one may suppose continued to live in or near Burton with his mother, and was churchwarden in 1730, (as we learn by a board now extant in the nave,) when the church was "beautifyed," he gives but a small sum of money by way of acknowledgment: and the same to his elder daughter Sarah, now more than twenty years married to a person apparently in good circumstances. Two of his children are unnamed in the Will, the Bishop, and Mary the youngest daughter, whose marriage with Daniel Littler in 1689 has been mentioned: but both these are virtually remembered by the remainders left to all his surviving children in certain contingencies; and perhaps Mrs. Littler might have had her portion beforehand. In Burton itself it would appear that Mr. Wilson was only a renter, so that his widow would continue in occupation by virtue of the clause which gave her his personal estate. How the charity clause was carried into effect may be seen by the list of benefactions at the west end of Burton Church:—"Mr. Nathaniel Wilson of Burton left £10, the interest to be given to the poor of the Parish of Burton by the Trustees."

I understand that the portions both in Willison and West Kirby were common land of no great comparative value: and this enhances the moderation and piety both of Mr. Wilson and of his son, who speak so thankfully of what many would be apt to regard as but a small measure of success in the world.

This event, of course, made a difference in the Bishop's intercessions. He added what follows to his daily prayers for his own and his wife's parents[e].

"Look down in compassion, O God of all comforts, upon the affliction of my mother: give her a right understanding of herself, and of Thy Threats and Promises, y^t she may put her full trust only in Thy great mercy in Jesus Christ. Heal the distempers of her mind, and grant that both those of her mind and body may contribute to the health of her soul.

[e] MS. ii. 71.

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Make her to hear of joy and gladness. Help Thy servant whom Thou hast redeemed with Thy precious blood, that she may be numbered with Thy Saints in glory everlasting. Rebuke the Enemy, suffer him not to triumph over her. Lay upon her no greater burthen than Thou shalt enable her to bear with X^n^ Patience." It seems obvious to conjecture that old Mrs. Wilson had come to be troubled with somewhat of the same "afflicting melancholy" which had visited her son Thomas in his youth, and with which, wherever it occurred, his private notes yet existing shew that he had a more than usual sympathy.

One year more, and a fresh bereavement occurs, nearly at the same season. "June 3, 1703. My little Alice died;" an infant of about sixteen months. The event is thus recorded in the Kirk Michael Register:—"Burials 1703. Ailes Wilson, daughter of the R^t^ Rev^nd^ father in God Tho. and Mrs. Mary Patten, buried in y^e^ Cathedrall Church of Peel, June the 3^rd^;" the day of her death being as it seems inadvertently substituted for that of her burial. Why he laid her in the Cathedral we are not told.

Amid these alternations of joy and affliction at home, preparing him for yet severer trials to ensue before long, the Bishop was steadily working his way towards the two reforms, which he had seen from the beginning to be essential to the well-being of the island; the one relating to the tenures of landed property, the other to the rules and practice of Church discipline. And by his success in the former he won men's acquiescence in the latter. This, his main definite work in the island, requires now to be set forth at large.

NOTE (A), p. 146.

A document, drawn up seemingly by the Bishop himself, gives the history of one of these cases:—"Thomas, by Divine permission, Lord Bishop of Sodor and Mann, to all whom these presents may concern, greeting. Know ye that whereas Mrs. Lettice Salmon, now of the city of Dublin, hath for some time past laboured under a scandalous defamation, of having been incontinent, and of having born an illegitimate child to Mr. Henry Norris of Kirk Arbory within this island: W^ch^ defamation, (upon diligent inquiry and

a full hearing of the matter before us in Castletown on Wednesday the 31st of March last past,) appeared to the Court to be false, and grounded only upon the bare report of the said Henry Norris, prompted thereto through malice, and a design to deter the said Lettice Salmon from suing for certain sums of money w^ch^ he had formerly borrowed from her: And the said Lettice Salmon having voluntarily and earnestly desired that she might clear herself of the said scandalous imputation in due form of law:—We did therefore, for very convincing reasons, and being fully persuaded of the malicious design against her, comply with her just request herein; and she . . . accordingly came to Kirk Malew Church, on Sunday last, and then and there, immediately before Morning Prayer, before all the congregation took her oath with two lawful Compurgators, that she never at any time had any incontinent dealing with the said Henry Norris. Whereupon we have ordered the said Henry Norris to be forthwith confined to St. German's Prison, there to remain until he shall give in sufficient Bonds of Three Pounds Fine *ad usum Domini*, 40 days imprisonment, and further punishment at the Ordinary's discretion, never to repeat or revive the said slanderous defamation, directly or indirectly either by himself or by proxy. And we have likewise hereunto annexed a Certificate from several creditable persons, inhabitants of Castletown (where she the s^d^ Lettice Salmon resided during the whole term of her acquaintance with the said Henry Norris) to vindicate her innocence to her relations; and have further ordered, that authentique copies of them both be inrolled in our registry for the satisfaction of posterity. Given under our hand and seal at Bishop's Court, this 6th day of April, in the sixth year of our Consecration, and the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and three. L. S. Tho. Sodor and Man."

Half a year before, there had been a similar case in lower life. One Christopher Brew of Kirk St. Anne had in like manner gone about to take away the character of a certain Margaret Moore; but on being called upon for details, made a statement which admitted of disproof, and was disproved upon oath. Whereupon the Vicar-General, Wattleworth, allowed her to clear herself upon oath with two Compurgators, and Christopher had to be imprisoned a week in St. German's, and not to be discharged without giving bonds to fulfil the rest of his censure and pay all fees; the rest of his censure being, three Sundays' penance in penitential habit, at Kirk Malew, Kirk Braddan, and Kirk St. Anne, and publickly to ask the woman forgiveness, putting his finger on his mouth, and say, "Tongue, thou hast belied her."

CHAPTER V.

THE ACT OF SETTLEMENT, 170$\frac{2}{3}$.

The Bishop in the Temporal Courts.

THERE is no doubt that Bishop Wilson had remarkable qualities as an administrator, and of course was under the temptation to deviate from the strict line of pastoral work in the direction of secular and external power, and influencing others for the influence' sake. There is as little doubt that he was dutiful and earnest in watching against this temptation. "He could never be induced[e]," says Cruttwell, "to sit in the House of Lords, though there is a seat for the Bishop of Man detached from the other Bishops, and within the bar[f]; saying, 'That the Church should have nothing to do with the State: Christ's kingdom is not of this world.'" His expressions may not have been quite so broad and unqualified; but enough remains to shew that he tried at least to live always in the spirit of his own beautiful quotation from his favourite Quesnel: "The marks of grandeur are a burden to a holy Bishop. He bears them before men, but through humility laments them before God." And yet it is recorded of him, that he carefully kept up the old custom of the island, of approaching the Bishop on one knee; he was the last, say some, who permitted that degradation[g]. Perhaps it were more exact to say, he was the last who kept himself up to the unpleasant duty of requiring that ancient homage, so natural when one really believes oneself to be a son asking a blessing of a father.

However, certain it is that he was providentially forced into closer contact with temporal affairs, and eventually with temporal disputes, than any one of our great Bishops since the time of Laud. The condition of his property and the ignorance of those around him compelled him from the beginning, like some colonial Bishops, to become in great measure the farmer of his own demesne. Besides, as a baron of the island, the only one since the Reformation, he had a court of his own, and a large body of copyholders or customary tenants under him; and in this court also, if right

[e] p. xxxiv.

[f] In which seat Bishop Levinz sat in his episcopal robes.—Ibid, note.

[g] Train, i. 366.

and justice were to be done, he found it necessary to preside sometimes in person. His legal representative there was of course a steward appointed by himself, having under him serjeants to serve the processes of the court, and to collect the chief rents and heriots payable to the Bishop as lord. There were two of them, one for the northern, the other for the southern district of the barony. This court still exists, but only to enrol new tenants or apportion lands or payments in undisputed cases. This is done by the steward with a standing jury of four, each district having its own jury, under the style of the "Setting Quest;" and when a vacancy occurs in either of them, the remaining Questmen fill it up. Here we see the same arrangement prevailing in this lowest of preliminary courts, as in the House of Keys, which in certain cases is, or was, the highest Court of Appeal[h]. But if any dispute arises, the Court Baron must refer it at once to the insular Court of Common Law. In Bishop Wilson's time it was not so. His court had real jurisdiction, both civil and criminal, as an ancient feudal institution, over the tenants of the manor, unless they were also tenants of the Lord of the Isle. And it was distinctly recognised that if one charged even with felony had the privilege of the Bishop's Court, the steward might claim him to be tried there from the Court of General Gaol Delivery, though he were already indicted and arraigned therein. The steward was assisted in these trials by one or both of the Deemsters and by the Comptroller (or Clerk of the Rolls) of the island; the Attorney-General appeared to guard the interests of the Lord; and there was no reference to any other court, but only to the Keys in civil causes, and in criminal to the Governor and Council. So that in prerogative, though not perhaps in actual working, the Bishop's Court Baron, or Manor Court, had a high place in the Manks Constitution.

The Manxmen, as other branches of the Celtic race, are complained of as having been very litigious in those days; according to the pointed saying of the Great Earl, "Here be no lawyers; or rather, here is none but lawyers[i]." It was a primitive state of society, as in other respects, so in this, that partly through poverty, partly through difference

[h] Bishop Wilson, Account of the Isle of Man, Works, i. 487, 488.
[i] Ap. Peck, *Desiderata Curiosa*, ii. 30.

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of language, hardly any could be found to plead causes with professional knowledge; and there was no resource but for every man to appear as his own advocate, or to employ some unprofessional adviser. Litigation under such circumstances would be very cheap, and lawsuits innumerable. Bishop Wilson saw certain advantages in this want of professional men, his fatherly mind and clear head enabling him no doubt to dispose of very many cases in a far cheaper and more satisfactory way than any technical system could have done[j]. But it seems plain that under ordinary circumstances it would lead to great irregularities, and accordingly in the generation after Wilson we find the Court of Tynwald expressly enacting, for the prevention of litigiousness, that men and women might plead their own causes if they liked, but must not employ any but an approved and commissioned advocate.

Under these circumstances it is no wonder if the Bishop from time to time considered it advisable to shew himself in his baronial court, purely temporal though it were; not to mention that during a good many years of his episcopate he might well think his presence needed for the protection of himself and his tenants against the official assessors of his steward, they being part of the Council which dealt so violently and illegally with him. It is curious, however, that the only record that I have seen of his interfering in any particular case is a letter to his steward on some very trivial matters, such as might occur in any ordinary court-leet. I give it as a specimen of his exactness in such things. He was but obeying his conscience and common sense, which told him that he had no right to suffer himself more than another to be cheated by his tenants.

"Mr. Steward, "May y^e 18, 1709.

"I am forc'd to complain of several matters relating to my Tennants, w^ch I give you in writing that you may do Justice betwixt Me and Them as your duty requires.

"1st. The Tennants of Jurby have of late neglected to cutt my Turff, and begin to think themselves oblig'd only to carry it for me, notwithstanding the express words of the Records, and their former usage; I desire that express orders may be given therein.

"2dly. The Serjeant of Jurby pays me but 3^lb 11^s 6^d. Whereas the Records are express that there is due to me after all allowances

[j] Hist., 488; cf. Mills, 339.

for abatem^{ts} of Customes be made, and besides 2^{s} 1^{d} ob. w^{ch} is in controversy betwixt 2 of the Tennants, the sum of 3^{lb} 18^{s} 3^{d}. I desire also that the 2^{s} 1^{d} ob. may be inquired into and settled according to Law.

"3, Lastly. I have often complained of the evil Practice of paying their Customes on y^{e} very worst grain and Goods that they can get, so that I am fore'd to return it, or fling it away. I have had Instances of this this year, w^{ch} I hope will be rectified for the future.

"And I propose it to the consideration of the Court whether the Abatements on acc^{t} of customes, which is a mere favour, and declared to be so in the Records, ought to be made before the Rents and Customes are paid, that I may see who deserves that favour, since some do not, the Serjeant of y^{e} South side declaring to me that some of y^{e} Tenants, having not grain bad enough, as they thought, borrowed worse than their own to pay me.

"Tho. Sodor and Man."

It appears that the Court granted all these applications. The friend who furnished me with this letter adds, "The Records of the Barony shew that he presided several times in the Baron's Court personally."

But all this was nothing to the call made upon him by his office as a member, first in rank, of the Governor's Council. As such, he had to enter very largely into the legislative, and occasionally into the executive duties of the government; to sign new statutes, and attest the promulgation of them at the subsequent Tynwald. He would be called on constantly to deliberate with those who were best informed and most interested in all local customs and questions, and would bring to the deliberation larger views, and a mind more free from local prejudices, than could be ordinarily looked for in them. Bishop Wilson was not a man either to decline any of these duties or to discharge them carelessly or at random.

Moreover, the old notion so generally received since Hooker's time, of the identity of Church and State in a Christian country, was far from being worn out in the Isle of Man. In the generation before Wilson, they had had a "Sword-Bishop," as their books sometimes express it: i. e. a Bishop (Barrow) who was also Governor of the island, and before whom accordingly the sword of state was borne at the annual procession to the Tynwald Hill. The remem-

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brance of this admirable prelate was fresh in the island when Wilson made his appearance there, and could not but dispose the people favourably towards episcopal interference in their temporal concerns.

Thus was Bishop Wilson providentially qualified to deal with their grievances, and with the means of redressing them: providentially, too, he was raised up just at the time when such a helper was most needed. On the other side, no person then living, probably, knew so much as the Bishop did of the affairs of the Lord of Man, what an unprofitable investment the island had hitherto proved to him, and how small the chance of real improvement without an entire change of system. And all this mainly on account of one great and sore inconvenience,—the unsettled condition of the whole of the landed property, by reason of uncertain, obsolete, or imaginary tenures.

State of Tenures in the Island.

The subject runs up into the obscurities which everywhere in modern Europe accompany inquiries into the existing rights of property. Perhaps the most distinct tradition is contained in a very curious ballad, in Manks[i], dating itself early in Henry the Eighth's reign, and professing to be a sort of summary of the history of the island down to that time. This document, so to call it, marks, or at least intimates, three periods in the state of the insular tenures. The first, which would seem almost Druidical, when each occupier owned the chief's authority by simply bringing a bundle of rushes or meadow-grass at Midsummer. The second, when the Scandinavian king, Orry or Gorree, won the island in the tenth century. We know from the Manks Statute-book[j], that in 1422 it was an unquestioned tradition that in King Orry's days (about A.D. 920) there were certain freeholders (allodial proprietors?), twenty-four in number, constituting the sovereign's standing council in difficult points. One of their titles was *Chor-na-Faid*[k]," which is rendered "the Assembly of Wise Men," and so corresponds remarkably with "Wittenagemote." They are now the "Keys" of the island. If some were thus distinguished as freeholders, there must have been other and baser tenures.

[i] See Train, i. 50—55.

[j] Mills, Ancient Ordinances, &c., p. 17.

[k] Train, ii. 195.

Of the third period—very obscurely indicated—thus much however the ballad clearly tells us, that it was a time of great and permanent change in property:—

> "There came a measure of Law and Rule,
> With greater taxes and greater rents,
> Which will for ever be demanded of the men that be."

This may well relate to the second Norwegian, or rather Icelandic conquest of Man, by Goddard or Guthred Crovân, in 1077; at which time, according to all the histories[1], the chief's companions for the more part refusing to colonize, the island became by conquest the absolute property of the chief, who settled such as chose to remain with him, or allowed them to settle themselves, in the southern district, as more profitable for cultivation; elsewhere, the former occupants were to continue as the king's tenants at will. In feudal language, I suppose one might say that from that time such a thing as allodial property was hardly known in the Isle of Man. The whole was, or soon became, a royal demesne, part of which was granted out in baronies, chiefly ecclesiastical; the rest was occupied by individuals, who had to do homage annually as a sort of free tenants of a manor, making good their chief-rents or other several agreements; the ultimate right of the lord to the soil of the whole island still remaining undisputed.

Under this state of things the Stanleys came into possession; the grant in the royal charter to the first Sir John Stanley purporting that he should have and hold the island and all the lordships thereunto appertaining, "as fully, freely, and entirely as . . . any other lord of the aforesaid island was accustomed rightfully to have and to hold them." And this is the fourth point affecting this question of tenures, referred to in the ballad as follows. The king, Henry IV., says to Sir John Stanley,—

> "Because thou hast served me well,
> And gained booty for me and thyself,
> Take to thy portion the Isle of Man,
> To be for thee and thine for ever."

The poet goes on to anticipate golden times both for the Stanleys and the Manxmen; but by reason partly of en-

[1] Train, i. 78; Chron. Manniæ, ap. Gibson's Camden, p. 1054, ed. 1695; Sacheverell, Survey, Manx Society's Edition, pp. 30, 31.

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grossing state employments, partly of long minorities and disputed successions, the island appears to have been mostly left to itself, until James Lord Strange, afterwards the Great Earl, undertook the care of it about 1628. He found that great encroachments had been and were daily being made (as was sure to happen) on the lord's demesne. His customary tenants had for years got into a way of conveying the lands which they held of him, as if they were absolutely their own, by sale, or for a term of years, to whom they pleased, giving a kind of seisin by the delivery of a straw [m]. And the tenure created by this ceremony (as I understand it) was called the "Tenure of the Straw." It amounted, in their view, to absolute ownership, with the exception of some merely nominal payment to the lord. They might let, sell, or give, without any reference to him.

This was apparently a state of things only to be mended by an equitable compromise. On the one hand, no reasonable man could expect the lord of any manor to allow such wholesale and serious infringement on his undoubted rights; on the other hand, after so long connivance, and so many *bonâ fide* sales and alienations, completed perhaps in ignorance that the lord's license was necessary, it would have been iniquitous to claim the lands as absolutely forfeited: nor am I aware of any proof that Earl James had any such intention; he may have only wished for such a formal surrender as should secure for the future the lord's beneficial interest in them. His ordinances in other cases seem to have been equitable enough [n]; we find him in 1636 allowing his poor tenants to pay their rent in corn, which was to be husbanded or exported (as in Egypt under Joseph) according to the present need of the island; and again, requiring the Deemsters to set down in writing the traditionary rules or "Breast Laws," whereby causes civil and criminal were conducted and determined; and in 1637, limiting certain times within which actions, either real or personal, should be brought. And in 1643 he summoned the island by representation to assist him in discovery and redress of grievances, and upon their presentment took order for the settle-

[m] Train, ii. 230.

[n] Mills, 86, 88, 94, 98.

ment of many vexatious questions which had arisen between the commonalty and the clergy. CHAP. V.

Putting all this together, Earl James seems entitled to a candid construction of the course which he took in the same year with regard to the insular tenures. He issued[o] a commission to four of his principal officers, to propose to those of his tenants who claimed by this "Tenure of the Straw" that upon paying certain fines they should receive leases of their lands for three lives or twenty-one years; which proceeding in 1645 was sanctioned by Act of Tynwald, with a proviso saving to the tenantry the rights of inheritance and partia ownership, "according to the ancient and usual customary laws of the island."

Had the times permitted, this proviso might probably have been followed by others, and a satisfactory arrangement made in Earl James's time. As it was, extreme claims continued to be asserted on opposite sides; no one knew what to expect at the termination of his present holding; and the effect on the condition both of governor and subject was very grievous. Improvement was at a stand, the soil exhausted, the occupier limiting himself to the least possible outlay, the whole community perplexed and fretful.

Add to this, that about 1670[p] a company of adventurers from Liverpool settled at Douglas, for the avowed purpose of carrying on a contraband trade, in India goods especially, between Man and the surrounding shores. This speculation proved so successful, and the kind of employment was so congenial to the seafaring tastes and habits of that hardy people, that it was speedily engaged in by the greater part of the population; and was proportionably mischievous, as over and above its immoralities it drew the capital and energy of the place more and more away from agriculture. One way or another, things were come to such a pass, that James, the brother of Bishop Wilson's patron, when he came to be earl, was fain to farm out the revenues of the isle to a merchant in Liverpool for £1,000 a-year[q]. And several seasons of scarcity, approaching to famine, had occurred. Smuggling and fishing were deemed the only pursuits worth attending to.

[o] Mills, 106. [p] Train, ii. 306. [q] Train, i. 216.

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With this state of things the energetic Bishop had to grapple, from the moment that he landed in the isle; and by the autumn of 1703 he had matured a plan of relief, and secured for it the favourable consideration of both parties. Before detailing it, I will mention some particulars which I have reserved for this place, by way of bringing down the history of his official life to the autumn of that year.

First movements towards a compromise.

It would appear that Earl William, moved probably by the Bishop's report of the state in which he found the island in the six months of his first abode there, came over, after long absence, in November, 1699, and immediately issued the following important and most welcome document:—

"My will and pleasure is, that upon receipt of this my Order, you signify to all my Tenants within your Sheading, that I am come amongst them on purpose to settle them in their several holdings and tenures; that I am ready to do this and to receive their several proposals; that I am sensible of the great loss and inconvenience it hath been both to myself and to them to have things left so long under uncertainties; that therefore I now give them liberty to make immediate application; to which purpose I have appointed the Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of this isle to receive their several proposals; to whom they may from time to time apply themselves, and who hath my directions to render their proposals to me. And the Coroner is required to make publication of this my order on Sonday (*sic*) next at the several parish churches within his Sheading, and to make return of his so doing into the Comptroller's Office.

"Dated at Castle Rushin the 29th Nov., 1699.

"DERBY.

"To the Coroner of Glenfaba Sheading. The like order sent to the Coroners of Michael and all the other Sheadings."

This was a fair beginning; and moderate as the value of the whole property in question was, the number and intricacy of the claims which presented themselves might well be sufficient to account for a longer delay than actually occurred—four years and three months—before the final settlement. Lord Derby continued in the island during that winter; for on the third of the February following we find

him issuing a second order, as important, and as much after Wilson's heart, as the first:—

"Whereas I am informed that several merchants and other persons trading in and to this my Island are very much suspected of unfair practices in their way of trade by running of several goods and merchandizes, with design of defrauding the King of his just rights: And the better to remove all such doubts and jealousies for the future, and to the end that all such persons as shall presume to use those sinister practices may be effectually discouraged and suppressed; It is my will and pleasure, and I do accordingly order and direct, that the several laws and orders heretofore made and provided in this Island against such unwarrantable proceedings be put in execution, and that all seizures hereafter made on that account shall be duly levied without favour or mitigation. And I do hereby require all my officers who are employed and entrusted in that affair to be watchful and diligent in their duties, as they will answer the contrary at their utmost peril. And that none hereafter may plead ignorance, it is also my will that publication be made of this my order at the respective sea-ports of this my Island.

"Given under my hand at Castle Rushin the third day of February, Anno Domini $\frac{1699}{1700}$ DERBY."

This was a strong as well as a righteous step on the part of one often in pecuniary embarrassment, if we are to believe Mr. Train's statement[r], that "the Lord of the Isle received certain duties which were increased by the illicit traffic."

Late in that twelvemonth, or early in the next, (for the exact time I have not ascertained,) the Earl would hear of the death of his only son, Wilson's pupil, at Venice, in the twentieth year of his age, for he was born in 1680. How he was conducting himself, and what hope he gave that he would walk worthy of his many advantages, we are not told. His name was mentioned long after[s], as authority for a ribald calumny against Bishop Wilson himself, but very little credit is due to the person alleging it. The only uncomfortable circumstance is, that the Bishop in speaking of it expresses no surprise at such a saying being attributed to

[r] ii. 311.

[s] See Sacra Privata, this Edition, 196.

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his pupil. His remains are said to have been brought to England, and "deposited with his noble and most worthy Predecessors[t]."

The loss of this young man, besides the heavy calamity to his parents, (who, as appears by the Ormskirk Register, had buried three children before, infants, or nearly so,) proved very momentous both to the house of Stanley and to the island, perhaps also to Bishop Wilson himself. No doubt he felt it deeply: for his loyal attachment to that family breaks out continually in all that he has to say of them, whether they are using him well or ill. Lord Strange's death left his father's only brother James presumptive heir both to the earldom and to the island: but as yet he was unmarried, and in case of his dying without issue, the act of James I., by which the succession was regulated, would transfer the island to the heirs general of the Great Earl James, i. e. in this case, to the daughters of Earl William and their progeny, for he had two living, Henrietta and Elizabeth, the eldest at that time not more than thirteen years of age. And so, besides the natural softening of heart and conscience which such a calamity would bring with it to any Christian man not utterly hardened, and which would dispose his mind especially to neglected duties, Lord Derby's island might naturally acquire more comparative importance in his eyes, since there seemed a fair chance of its not departing, with the earldom, from his posterity. Accordingly we find him revisiting the island in the latter part of 1700, taking care to be present at the consecration of Castletown Chapel, interesting himself in the assignment of seats there, and continuing his residence even after the Bishop had departed, for on the very day of his going on board, April 17, Lord Derby signed an order for paying over to him for his own use all the profits of the see for the year 1695, the second of the late vacancy.

Still his faithful and loving chaplain, now his Bishop, was far from being, as yet, quite happy about him. The Memorandum Book[u] contains a prayer, dated 1700, "for the Lord of this Isle."

"Great God, the Fountain of all power and authority, who

[t] Seacome, p. 162, 4to. ed.

[u] p. lxxxiv.

dost dispose and govern the hearts of princes and Governors as it seemeth best to Thy godly wisdom; look down in mercy upon the government of this place, where by Thy good Providence my lot is appointed.

"Bless the Lord of this Isle with a just sense of Thy great favours vouchsafed to him and his family, that he may believe in *Thee,* and acknowledge *Thee* to be the Lord of Heaven and Earth. Take from him all hardness of heart and contempt of Thy Word. Turn the bent of his affections from sensual love to the love of Thee; that he may both by his authority and example promote Thy honour and glory, and study to preserve Thy people committed to his charge in wealth, peace, and godliness. If it be Thy gracious pleasure, make *me* an instrument of great good to him and to his people, by blessing my endeavours for his conversion: direct and bless and support me in this great undertaking, that I may do nothing unbecoming the Character with w^ch^ Thou hast honoured me; that I may not *for any worldly consideration* neglect any part of my duty; and that, if Thou seest good, I may not want success.

"God be merciful unto me, and pardon me whereinsoever I have offended in this part of my duty; and more especially by making a sport of that vileness and profaneness w^ch^ to Thee is so grievous and offensive. Lord, lay not these sins to my charge when Thou callest me to an account. Let not mine offences *of this* or any other kind or degree be an occasion of hindering his Reformation, for whom I now presume to intercede with Thee. O merciful God, grant these things for the sake of Jesus X^t^, my great Lord, and our only Saviour. Amen."

In speaking of vileness and profaneness, he may allude to conversations in times past when he had been an inmate of Knowsley, and which, as it now seemed to him, he had not discountenanced as he ought to have done.

At any rate these petitions appear to have been so far answered, that the Earl kept up, as far as appears, to the good point to which the Bishop had succeeded in raising him in his dealings with his subjects.

In the course of this year, 1700, the island was attacked by "an epidemic distemper w^ch^ carried off a great many[v]."

[v] MS. i. 25.

CHAP. V. This was doubtless a good opportunity for Bishop Wilson's winning more and more the hearts of his people, by the use of the medical knowledge which he had before "studied and practised with success. For some time," says Cruttwell[w], "after he had settled there," and of course in 1700, "he was the only physician in the island: keeping a shop of drugs for general use, which he distributed, as well as his advice, gratis: but when some gentlemen of the faculty came to settle on the island, he gave up his attendance on the rich, but the poor he always kept to himself."

There were also changes, seemingly favourable, in the appointment of Governor about this time. Colonel Nicholas Sankey, who held the office when Wilson came, had become, for whatever reason, unpopular, and had been superseded in 1701 by the Honourable Capt. James Cranston, whom I suspect to be the "Col. Cr." mentioned in *Sacra Privata* as one of the four "honourable and worthy Friends" for whom Wilson gave thanks continually by name, as for four most special favours granted to him by God Almighty. The two Finches and Michael Hewetson are the others. The Bishop's heart was so set upon obtaining the desired settlement for his people, that one can easily conceive how Captain Cranston, even if he were otherwise a stranger, might earn for himself, if he were helpful in that work, as deep love and affectionate respect as any of Wilson's best and oldest friends.

We know of one instance, at any rate, in which Mr. Cranston sympathized and acted cordially with Bishop Wilson. The good Bishop, as we have seen, had always a very vivid feeling of the dangers of the seas; and a residence in the Isle of Man, and within reach and hearing of its north-western waters, was not likely to deaden that impression in one who lived always on realities rather than imaginations. His MSS. contain an earnest, almost an agonizing, intercession, offered up during a storm for those who were then at sea. No date appears: but the opening of the prayer shews that it was composed in the Isle of Man, and the handwriting, and the place where it occurs, prove it to have been early in his episcopate. It is headed by St. Matt. viii. 26, the whole verse written out in Greek.

[w] p. xci.

"*In stormy weather.*

"O God! who of Thy good Providence hast appointed me my Portion in this Island, where every storm puts me in mind of y^e^ dangers they are expos'd to who follow their business upon y^e^ seaes: O mercifull God! who hast inspired me w^th^ a compassionate sense of y^e^ great affliction and extream misery of all such as *during this p^r^sent Tempest* may stand in need of Thy extraordinary Power and Mercy to saue y^m^ fr. perishing, Hear and accept my Pray^r^, O Fath^r^ of mankind, for all y^t^ desire, and for all y^t^ want Thy assistance. Hear, and in tender compassion to y^e^ work of Thy hands, relieve all those who cry unto Thee fr. y^e^ depth of misery, and fr. y^e^ Jaws of death ready to swallow y^m^ up. Thou y^t^ alone canst coñand y^e^ winds and y^e^ seas (for they obey Thy Word) let Thy Almighty word go forth, let y^e^ Elements feel Thy Power and Authority, and Thy Creatures y^t^ are in distress, Thy great mercy to y^m^. O that they may live to y^e^ glory of Thy Name, y^t^ they may be examples of Repentance, and make oth^rs^ sensible of Thy gr^t^ goodness to all y^t^ call upon Thee in their distress, y^t^ they may tell those, who seeing all things quiet ab^t^ y^m^ are too apt to forget Thee, and refuse to hear y^e^ still voice of Thy word; y^t^ they may tell y^e^ unthankfull world—*how terrible Thou art in all Thy works of wonder, y^e^ gr^t^ God to be feard above all.*

"I sh^d^ not p^r^sume, O mercifull Fath^r^, to beg these Fav^rs^ for oth^rs^, being myself so very unworthy, and obnoxious to Thy displeasure, but y^t^ Thou hast coñanded us to pray for one anoth^r^. In Obedience to Thee, In compassion to those y^t^ are in distress, and in hopes y^t^ Thou wilt pass by my sins, and give ear unto my Pray^rs^, In all Humility I beseech Thee to hear me, not for *my* sake, (for I am not worthy to be heard) but for Thy Promise sake, for Thy Goodness sake, for y^e^ sake of X^t^ Jesus, Hear me and deliver Thy Servants from y^e^ dangers of *this Storm.* Amen. Amen."

He afterwards modified this prayer as follows, abridging it so that it might be easily learned by heart, and be available in the hurry and distress of an actual wreck.

"*In a storm.* St. Matth. viii. 26. *Then He arose and rebuked the winds and the sea, and there was a great calm.*

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"O God Omnipotent, who alone canst command the struggling elements, let Thy Almighty word go forth, let these elements feel Thy power and authority, and Thy poor creatures, that are, during this present storm, in distress, Thy great mercy to them.

"Grant that they may live to the glory of Thy Name: that they may be examples of repentance, and make others sensible of Thy great goodness to all that call upon Thee in their distress. That they may tell those, who seeing all things quiet about them, are too apt to forget God—that they may tell the unthoughtful world, how terrible Thou art in all Thy works of wonder, the great God to be feared above all.

"But if in Thy wisdom Thou hast otherwise determined, Lord be merciful unto the soules of those that are appointed to die. Wash them and sanctify them in the blood of Jesus Christ, that their sins may be done away by Thy mercy, and their pardon sealed in Heaven, before they go hence and be no more seen.

"In the hour of death, and in the day of judgment, good Lord deliver us. Amen."

But the Manxmen of that time were so far like their kinsmen the Cornish, that they were occasionally tempted to consider a shipwreck as a providential event to be turned to their own account: and the records at Castletown furnish us with an instance in which Bishop Wilson interfered. It appears that towards the end of January, 170½, a ship called the "Lucy," of London, with passengers and goods for Peeltown, met with two fatal accidents in the Bay: first her long-boat, with passengers and seamen, some of them with goods about them of considerable value, was cast away, and several if not all on board were drowned; some of whom were "most barbarously and inhumanly stript after they were thrown up by the sea, and whatever either goods or other effects they had about them taken away," besides the appropriation and concealment of clothing and other things driven on shore by the tide. Upon which, on January 22, Governor Cranston issues a proclamation with the following preamble[x]: "Not only by the laws of God and the

[x] From the Rolls Office, communicated by favour of James Gell, Esq.

Christian Religion, but also by the laws of all well-govern'd Countrys and Societys, it is a duty . . . required of all persons living upon the sea-coasts and near the sea-shore, to give their best assistance towards the saving and rescuing all such persons as doe by the Will of God suffer any misfortune at sea .... and likewise to the saving of all goods belonging to the persons or ships falling under such misfortunes. And tho' the neglecting to give this charitable relief to people in distress, in saving both their persons and goods so far as men have it in their power .. is both a great sin against God, and a great reproach to a country; yet it has always been thought just and reasonable that all such persons who with an honest design take pains .. either to save persons' lives, or recover or preserve goods .. should be honestly and justly rewarded." Then stating the facts, he goes on, "Whereas it is my duty to see that every man, as well the stranger as the native, meet with equal justice and fair dealing within this Isle—that persons who act the honest part either in saving people's lives or rescuing goods, shall have .... suitable rewards: so I am resolved to punish to the utmost all such as behave themselves inhumanly or thievishly .. towards people in such calamitys." Then the Coroner of Michael Sheading (to whom this order is addressed) is directed to make publication in the several parish churches on the following Sunday, that persons having in their possession any "goods, silver, gold, jewells, rings, cloaths . . . belonging to the above-mentioned persons or lost from the ship, do bring it in to the Water-bailiff, or Coroner of the Sheading, within 48 hours from the publication of the order." And if any be found hereafter, it is to be brought in in like manner within forty-eight hours. He promises a liberal reward, proportionable to the value of the goods brought in: and declares that any concealment after this will be "lookt upon as felonious and severely proceeded against." And he offers to those who will inform of goods concealed the same reward that would have been given to the person concealing if he had honestly brought them in. The order to be read both in English and Manks.

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The warning however was disregarded; so inveterate was the notion among the islanders, that "wrecking" under such circumstances is a matter of course. Within a few

CHAP. V. days, Feb. 4, the unfortunate ship was driven on shore, and went to pieces in the Bay, and almost all the cargo was lost: "upon w^ch" (says the Governor in a second order, the date whereof does not appear,) "the hull of the same, with all the timber and iron-work that was saved or should thereafter be saved, was bought for our Hon^ble Lord's use: whereby it became high Felony in Law for any person to conceal or convert to their own use any part of the same." "Yet," he continues, "I am given to understand, that .... in contempt of the Law, and of that justice due to all men, but more especially to people in distress and suffering by such a calamity, several considerable quantitys both of the timber and iron .... and also goods belonging both to the persons cast away and to the owners and merchants as being part of the cargo, .. have been taken up and are yet concealed by many people over the country, to the great .. reproach of the Isle, rendering the people thereof liable to be censured as Barbarians and inhuman." ... Therefore, for a terror to others, and to take off the reproach, they ought to be most signally punished. "Yet"—it is a conclusion hardly to be expected—"seeing the Right Rev^d the Lord Bishop of this Isle hath interceded with me that I would pass by and pardon"—(those who are familiar with Wilson's devotions will recognise this as a favourite phrase of his)—"what offences have been hitherto committed in the premisses, to the end that such persons who through ignorance or mistake are guilty may have time to reforme, and know how shamefull and dishonourable and how contrary both to the Laws of God and Man it is to conceal and detain other men's goods: —therefore I do at his Lordship's desire and request hereby freely pardon and forgive all persons who have been in any way guilty of concealing any part of the above-mentioned ship's goods or cargo hitherto: except only such persons as are hereafter mentioned." The remainder of the document, with the date and signature, is not forthcoming. It is to be presumed that the prejudice in favour of the practice was so widely diffused and so deeply ingrained, that a sweeping sentence which could not be executed would rather inflame than cure it. Even the clergyman, Thomas Christian, whom we have seen three years before incurring the censure of the

Civil Court first and afterwards of the Church Court (not improbably for this same offence), had now again to take his trial before Governor Cranston for purloining ship-wrecked goods, and also for purchasing goods, knowing them to have been wrecked in the "Lucy." He was found guilty, Nov. 3, 1702, (having then moved from the cure of Ballaugh to that of Rushen,) and was fined £5. Subsequently, in consideration of his penitence and of certain heavy losses which he had sustained, the fine was reduced to 50*s*. Under such circumstances the general pardon thus granted at the Bishop's intercession, while it left the moral censure in full force, would add greatly to the effect of his future warnings as their chief pastor. Eventually it would appear that this barbarity passed away from amongst the Manksmen earlier than from other places where it has prevailed as a tradition.

Death of William, Earl of Derby.

Thus the Bishop went on, silently and often unconsciously gathering influence with all parties for the realization of his good designs: but it was not permitted to his patron to carry out the work with him. Earl William does not seem to have revisited the island after his departure about the Easter season, 1701. That he was at Knowsley, April 19, appears by the date of an order of his for £20 additional to be paid to the Bishop and others, for Castletown chapel; his latest recorded act, as far as I know, that regards the island. He was a good deal taken up in his later years with plans of repair on a large scale, both for Knowsley and for Lathom. With the latter (in which he would take more interest, as it was to go to his children after him, not descending with the title) he had gone so far as to erect "a sumptuous and lofty front, and to cover it in, but he did not live to finish it, dying at Chester when Mayor thereof, Nov. 5, 1702, (and also Chamberlain of that city, as his father and ancestors before him,) and was nobly interred at Ormskirk[y]." There was an unusually long interval between this nobleman's death and burial. The Ormskirk Register runs thus: "January 4, 1703. William George Richard Earle of Derby Intomb'd." In this instance that register abandons the old

[y] Seacome, Hist. of the House of Derby, p. 163.

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reckoning of the Church of England, and counts the year from January 1.

His widow, Bishop Wilson's friend, seems to have gone at once to reside in London, with her two daughters; the younger, Elizabeth, then only five years old, the elder, Henrietta, fifteen or sixteen. She survived her husband many years, but no trace remains, that I have found, of any further communication between her and the good Bishop. The Earl, who was but in the forty-eighth year of his age, seems to have died without a will, in the midst of many unfinished worldly projects, and we have no means of knowing how far his faithful chaplain had reason to hope that his intercessions had been answered.

The death of Earl William did not, as might have been expected, derange the plan in which he had begun to act with the Bishop for the improvement of the island. It seems likely that his pecuniary difficulties, which he would feel the more keenly on account of his building schemes, may have made him slow in carrying out the proposed arrangements with the tenants, which yet, we need not doubt, he had begun in good faith. A main difficulty lay with the tenants, who offered no terms but such as he considered exorbitant.

Progress of the Settlement under Earl James.

For whatever reason, his successor seems to have entered more cordially into the project, and to have allowed the Bishop his own way more unreservedly. This might be gathered not only from the rapid pace at which the transaction now proceeded, but from the manner in which Wilson himself speaks of Earl James's share in it. "The present Lord of Man has, to his great honour, removed one of the heaviest discouragements to industry and future improvements. His Lordship, at his accession, found his people complaining, as their ancestors had been for more than 100 years, of the uncertainty of their holdings; they claiming by ancient tenure which they called 'The Tenure of the Straw,' by which they might leave their estates to their posterity under certain rents, fines, and services, which his officers could not allow of, because of the many breaks that had been made by leases &c. in that manner of holding. He

therefore appointed commissioners to treat with his people in his presence, and at last came to a resolution to restore them by a public Act of Tinwald to a tenure of inheritance, under certain fines, &c. And the very great improvements which have since been made shew plainly that there wanted such a settlement to encourage industry, and the present and future ages will have reason to remember it with the deepest sense of gratitude[z]." Thus wrote Bishop Wilson in the year 1722, when he was more than beginning to suffer the most profane and reckless treatment from the person of whom he speaks as so great a benefactor.

This James, tenth Earl of Derby, was the third son of Charles the eighth Earl, and brother of William, Robert, the second son, having died young. James was a very different person from his brother, comparatively illiterate, and a rough soldier, but indeed a very distinguished one, described by Seacome as "Brigadier Stanley, bred up in martial discipline from a youth by the heroic Prince of Orange, with whom he was in high favour and esteem, one of his bedchamber, and an almost constant attendant. Throughout King William's wars in Flanders and Ireland, he commanded a regiment of foot; no battle or siege but he had a large share therein, his body being almost covered with wounds, and he twice carried off the field as a dying man, no person behaving with greater courage and resolution than Col. Stanley to the time of his commencing Earl of Derby; and then he generously bestowed his regiment"—(that is, I suppose, "procured it to be bestowed")—"upon an old friend and brother officer." Seacome might have added that the Prince and James Stanley were kinsmen, since Charlotte de la Tremoüille was grand-daughter to William, the first Prince of Orange.

It seems that James Stanley had been on good terms with Wilson long before, when the latter was only Chaplain to Earl William. One of his creatures, in after years, (when Knowsley was at variance with Bishop's Court,) taunted Wilson with the "favour he had formerly received in the Derby family, and particularly from his Lordship," this Earl James; "to whom," adds this writer, "I have heard you

[z] Hist. of the Isle of Man, 481, t. i. 4to.

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chiefly owe your rise." One circumstance not unlikely to lead to a tolerably good understanding between them appears in the Lord's Journals, xvi. 358, 10 W. III. 169⅝, 9 Jan.[y] "A Petition from James and Charles Stanley, Esqrs., praying that the Earl of Derby be ordered to waive his Privilege, or grant the Petitioners leave to sue his Lordship in Chancery for Annuities due to them." James Stanley then had been one of his brother's creditors, and, as such, deeply concerned in Wilson's efforts for arranging his lord's affairs.

It may not be irrelevant to add that within a few months of his elder brother's death, James lost his mother also, the widow of Earl Charles, Dorothea Helena, who died at Lathom, and was buried at Ormskirk, April 16, 1703; and of whom it is recorded, that "when her son took his last farewell of her she embraced him in her arms, and being sensible of her weakness, exerted her whole strength, and comprised the sum of his duty in this comprehensive precept, FEAR GOD[a]." The son indeed is not named, and most probably it was Charles Stanley, the youngest of the family, who appears to have been at that time residing with his mother at Lathom, and died there himself, unmarried, in 1714, having represented Lancashire, and the borough of Preston, in divers parliaments of Queen Anne. But it would be uncharitable to Earl James to suppose him altogether insensible to the wishes and recommendations of such a mother at such a time; and in proportion as he cared for her he would of course be favourably disposed towards Bishop Wilson and his plans. We cannot doubt that she and the Bishop thought a good deal of each other; she must have been very intimate with his uncle, Dr. Sherlock, and was the countrywoman and probably the friend of Lady Ossory, the mother of Earl William's Countess. Lady Ossory's maiden name was Beverweert[b]; and I find by the Lords' Journals, 29 Aug. 1660, that she and the Countess Dorothea of Derby were naturalized under the same Act of Parliament.

The settlement of the island now began to go forward in earnest.

As early at least as June, 1703, the Earl consented to

[a] Wilford's Memorials, 1741, p. 52; from the sermon preached at her funeral by Richard Hunter. [b] See Carte's Ormonde, ii. 52.

treat with the Keys, as representatives of his feudal subjects, with a view to an equitable arrangement; how frankly and cordially, and with what entire confidence in the Bishop, the following letter will shew. I insert it[e] as curious on several accounts:—"Lathom, June 10th, 1703. My Lord,—I have considered with Mr. Maudsley how matters stand in y^e^ Island, and therefore am of y^e^ same opinion with y^u^ and y^e^ Governor; y^t^ y^e^ sooner y^e^ Island can be settled on a good bottom it will be mutch better for both y^e^ Island and Myself, and I think it can never be don at a better time, since I know your interest and inclination in y^t^ matter; y^e^ demands made by y^e^ Island in my Brother's time were verry extravagant, but I hope now y^e^ [they] are in a mutch better temper, y^e^ Clergy I am sencible will give a good helping hand in this affair, which is no small inducement to me to prosse'd with all speed. I must desier of your L^p^ to know of them whether y^e^ would desier y^t^ these matters should be transacted heir or in y^e^ Island; if in y^e^ Island I intend to get my Brother and Governour Maudsley to goe ouer as soon as I can heir from your L^p^. I intend to appoint none but y^ur^ L^p^ and them for my self: and if y^e^ send ouer hether a like number I should think it would be suficient, but then I must desier your L^p^ assistence heir. I shall leave this to be managed as y^u^ think fitt.

"I know what euer is done heir must be transacted ouer again at y^e^ Tinwell Court. I hope y^u^ will forgive me in desiring your assistance heir in case y^e^ have a mind y^t^ matters should be transacted on this side, for it is your own fault having acted so in all Circumstances y^t^ y^u^ have justly gain'd such a reputation y^t^ I am oblig'd not only by inclination but interest to desire your assistance at this time, and I am shure I must own it as a very perticaler favour don to

"Your Lordship's most affectionet,

"Humble Servant,

"DERBY.

"I send y^e^ inclos'd y^t^ y^u^ may shew it to whom y^u^ think nessesary. I hope y^u^ will not think their is anny thing in it y^t^ can give any just reason of complaint. David Cristian

[e] From papers left by Dr. Wilson, the Bishop's son, in possession of the Rev. H. Cruttwell.

CHAP. V. being heir, and finding it necessary to dispatch him, I had not an oppertunety of showing it to y[e] Gouernour."

It appears by the Castletown records, that the Earl's brother Charles had been commissioned as Governor by Earl William, Nov. 20, 1702, very shortly before his death, and that just about the time of his death, Dec. 3, Robert Mawdesley, Esq., of Mawdesley, in the parish of Croston, in Lancashire, was appointed Deputy-Governor. But "Mr. Stanley not being able to attend to the government by reason of his urgent occupations in England," Mawdesley became Governor a twelvemonth afterwards, Nov. 25, 1703, and so continued until July, 1713. It seems to have been a thoroughly good appointment, and there are tokens of his having continued in harmony with the Bishop the whole time.

In the beginning of Autumn, 1703, matters were ripe for the Bishop to proceed to England with a deputation bearing proposals to lay before the Lord of the Isle. On the 7th day of August he was to sail, and the day before he entered the following prayer in Hewetson's book [c].

"Aug. y[e] 6th, 1703. Prov. [iii. 6.] *In all thy ways acknowledge Him, and He will bring it to pass* [d].

"O Allwise Providence, who alone canst govern the affections of men, and give success to their lawful undertakings; in an humble confidence that it is according to Thy good pleasure y[t] I am concerned in this great affair, I cheerfully undertake it, for the good of this nation, where my lot is fallen; most humbly[e] beseeching Thee to bless me in the way I go, to preserve me from doing any thing which may displease Thee or dishonour my holy Profession; to dispose the hearts of those with[f] whom and for[f] whom I am to act, that Thy will may chearfully be done and humbly submitted unto; and that the God of Heaven may have the honour of governing the world according to His own most wise purposes. To Whom be all praise and dominion. Amen." The next day, Aug. 7, 1703, he writes, "After a favourable passage of 26 houres, I landed at Hylake with D. X[n]." [g]

[c] M. H. xci.; MS. i. 240.

[d] This quotation, like some other of Wilson's, is made from memory, instead of "He shall direct thy paths."

[e] MS. i. om. "most humbly."

[f] Id., ibid., trs. "with" and "for."

[g] No doubt the David Christian mentioned in Lord Derby's letter.

He stayed in England until Sept. 11, conducting the negotiation with the Earl; content, for so great a benefit to his people, to be absent from his wife when he would most wish to be near her. For on the 24th of the same August she bore him another son, also called Thomas, the only child of his who lived to grow up and survive him.

Within a fortnight of this event, Sept. 6, he succeeded in obtaining the Earl's consent to the terms of accommodation, as embodied in the paper which they had to lay before him on behalf of his tenantry. Here is the Bishop's devotional memorandum, set down the same day.

"Sept. 6, 1703. Blessed be God for His favours vouchsafed unto me: for on this day I was (I hope) a happy instrument in bringing the Lord of Man and his people to an Agreement, and his Lordship has on this day condescended to settle them upon a certain Tenure; the want of w^{ch} they have laboured under for at least one hundred yeares. What the consequence may be I know not; but this I know, that to the best of my knowledge I acted uprightly in this whole affaire, and God be praised for it."

The tone of this last sentence would almost seem to indicate a certain ominous misgiving as to the final result of the measure; in one sense curiously verified, as we shall see by and by, in the breach which eventually took place between the Church in Bishop Wilson's person, and the State in that of Lord Derby and his officers. Exact observer as he was, he might have seen something in the Earl's manner, or in those with whom he was likely to take counsel,—or the very nature of the project might suffice,—to warn him that hereafter he might be blamed for what he had done. However, for the present it was a great success; and two days afterwards, Sept. 8, it was realized by the Earl's giving his formal consent to the principles of the measure, and nominating commissioners to treat with the deputation from the Keys regarding the details.

It may be well to insert the official account of the transaction from the Preamble to the Manx "Act of Settlement." "Whereas several disputes, questions, and differences have heretofore arisen and been contested between the Lords of the said Isle and their Tenants, touching their Estates,

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Tenures, Fines, Rents, Suits, and Services, to the great prejudice of the Lords, and Impoverishment of the Tennants and People there; who by that meanes have been discouraged from making such improvements as their Estates were and are capable of: for the absolute and perpetual ascertaining whereof, and the avoiding all Ambiguities, Doubts and Questions, that may or might at any time hereafter arise or grow touching or concerning the same, Proposals were made unto the said James Earl of Derby, now Lord of the said Isle, at Lathome, the 8th day of September last past, by Ewan Christian, of Unerigg, in the County of Cumberland, Esq[re], John Stevenson, of Balladoole, and Ewan Christian, of Lewaigue, within the said Isle[h], Gentlemen; who by an instrument under the hands of the 24 Keys, now remaining upon record, were empowered to treat concerning the same, as well for and on the behalf of themselves as all and every the tenants within the said Isle." Then after reciting the particulars, "The said James Earl of Derby, out of his great zeal and care for the welfare and quiet of his people, and to the end that such an establishment might be treated and agreed upon as might compleat and for ever confirm a constant mutual love and friendship between the Lords of the said Isle and their people, did nominate and appoint the aforenamed Robert Mawdesley, Thomas Lord Bishop of Sodor and Mann, and Nicholas Starkie, Esquire, Commissioners, to treat and consult with the said Ewan Christian, John Stevenson, and Ewan Christian of Lewaigue, concerning the said Proposals."

The commission was so constituted as to leave no doubt of an equitable and moderate adjustment, such as Wilson earnestly desired. Of two indeed out of the six members of it I know no more than the names, Mr. Starkie, and Mr. Christian from Cumberland. Mr. Stevenson and Mr. Christian of Lewaigue are described as "Gentlemen" only, not Esquires; they were both of them influential members of the House of Keys, and were afterwards, all their lives long, devoted to Bishop Wilson, and esteemed by him as intimate friends. Of Mr. Stevenson we shall hear more by and by. As to Mr. Christian, the day of his death, when it happened

[h] Balladoole is close to Castletown, Lewaigue to Ramsey.

eight years afterwards, found a place in the Bishop's Commemoration List. "My worthy friend, Mr. Christian of Lewaigue, died May 28, 1712." So that four at least out of the six commissioners would go on cordially together.

The object of his mission being thus virtually secured, the Bishop made haste to turn his face homewards. On Saturday, September 11, he writes, "After a favourable passage of 36 houres, I landed at Douglass with D. Christian;" embarking, no doubt, at Liverpool, and arriving with his good news at his happy home, and seeing for the first time his new-born child, late on the Saturday or early on the Sunday morning.

The negotiation for the settlement went on prosperously, as far as we are told, during the winter; and the Governor gave another token of his loyal care for the Church, by issuing, on the 20th of January, 170$\frac{3}{4}$, an order, to which the Keys were a party, for assessing "intacks and milnes," as well as farms and larger tenements, for the repairing and furnishing of churches; and "none to be excused on any pretence whatsoever."

Enactment and substance of the Settlement.

The Commissioners' proposals, however, did not pass into a law until the 4th of February. Perhaps one reason of the delay might be the idea which the Bishop now at least had conceived, of preparing at the same time and presenting to the legislature certain Ecclesiastical Canons and Constitutions, which the people, their hearts being opened by the comparatively favourable reception of their agrarian claims, would be willing to receive at his hands and ratify by the temporal authority. By the first week of February both portions of this grand reform were ready for enactment. A Court of Tinwald was appointed for the purpose, to meet on the fourth of that month at St. John's Chapel, which the Bishop had now for nearly five years been gradually repairing at his own expense. He now summoned his clergy to meet him there on the day before the Tinwald, and read to them his newly framed Ecclesiastical Constitutions, to which they agreed, and subscribed them in full convocation. Their substance will be given hereafter; I will only add here, that there are seventeen names attached to the copy

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so subscribed, representing the seventeen parishes of the island. And the document was on the following day accepted by the Temporal Court, as follows:—"The before Constitutions being [were?] this day offered by the Lord Bishop and Archdeacon of this Isle unto us the Governor, Officers, and 24 Keys for our Approbation; and having perused the same, we do find them very reasonable, just, and necessary, and do therefore approve of and consent to them as far as concerns the Civil Power." This is signed by the Governor, all the officers, and nineteen out of the twenty-four Keys. Lord Derby, in due time, gave his consent:—"I am well pleased with the above Constitutions, and do confirme the same, and require that they be published at the next Tinwald Court in usuall manner. DERBY." And at the Summer Court of Tinwald, which fell this year on June 6, they were published accordingly.

On the same fourth of February and sixth of June respectively, the Act for Ascertaining the Tenures of the Island was also passed in the Court of Tinwald, and after confirmation by the Earl, promulgated "according to ancient form and custom." A supplementary statute, passed the same day, refers to this one by the title of "Act of Settlement." The Manxmen delighted so to call it from the beginning. They caught up the title, no doubt, from the famous Act of Parliament so denominated, which dates about three years before. And thus they expressed indirectly (what there was never any real reason to doubt) their hearty allegiance to the Revolution Government and to the Protestant succession. Nor could they more significantly shew how great store they set by the boon which their Bishop had obtained for them.

The Act itself is in the nature of a compact between a feudal sovereign and his vassals; like Magna Charta, to which it has been often compared. The substance of it may perhaps not untruly be expressed as follows. After the preamble before recited, the Earl on his part "declares and confirms unto his Tenants their ancient customary Estates of Inheritance in their respective Tenements, descendible from Ancestor to Heir according to the Laws and Customs of the said Isle." The tenants on their part covenant to pay

to his Lordship the same fines which they severally and respectively paid for their several and respective tenements at the General Fining in 1643; i. e. in the time of the Great Earl: to the equity of whose arrangement, so far, Bishop Wilson and his contemporaries appear to bear testimony. If any of the lives were still in being, then only two-thirds of the general fine was to be paid. Upon any future change by succession or alienation, one-third of the same to be paid; if it were by death of a tenant, twelve months to be allowed to pay it in. Minor holdings, reputed chattels, such as cottages and 'milnes,' and what are called 'intacks[i],' are included in the same rule. And so also the Abbey-lands; only there reference is to be made to the arrangement in Earl Charles' time, 1666. Ancient quit-rents, and other suits and services, to be reserved as before. Gifts, even to children, and mortgages, to be treated as alienations, only the mortgagor to be allowed twenty-one years from the date of his mortgage for his chance of redeeming. Clauses are subjoined, bringing under the same rules any inclosures or mills hitherto uncharged, or that may hereafter come into existence. Some special cases are then provided for; the payment to be in Manks currency, and all within eighteen months. "Setting Quests" in every "Sheading" to take care that all is duly entered in the Court Rolls. Then the enacting clauses come, that the before-recited proposals shall be law, and the titles founded on them remain good and firm, as against all manner of claimants; all existing dues and interests reserved to the owners, and also to the country due aid in time of war.

Lord Derby's confirmation (undated) excepts from approval the one clause which secures the tithe of the Abbey-lands for the clergy, according to an arrangement of Bishop Barrow's in 1666; and that for what afterwards proved, as we shall see, to be a very good legal reason.

Some notice perhaps is due to the Supplementary Act, passed the same day, by way of completing this careful and equitable arrangement. It has four clauses, the first con-

[i] Intacks (or intakes) is a term not unknown in many parts of England, where tenants or others whose holdings bordered on the waste encroached at first by inclosures without authority, which were subsequently recognised and made subject to the same incidents in kind as the holdings themselves.

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firming the previous law concerning the amount of "carriages;" i. e. as I suppose, conveyance either by horses or men, due to the Lord of the Isle from his several tenants; the second, guarding against "fraudulent bargains for letting lands &c. for security of money, under other notions than that of Mortgage, to defraud our honourable Lord of a Fine;" such bargains are declared to be mortgages within the intendment of the Act. The third clause deals with the intacks and cottages which people had occupied without leave by the road-sides, and annexes them to the farms and tenements next adjoining; their occupiers to become subtenants, or to retire with such compensation as four sworn men, under the direction of the Insular Court of Chancery, shall approve: a certain time being limited, after which they shall not be liable to such removal. The fourth clause (referring to the reservation of all mines and quarries for the Lord of the Isle) secures nevertheless to the tenant the right of raising stone, slate, or lime for his own or his neighbour's use, (not for the general market without special license); and the Governor of the Isle is to have the power of moderating excessive charges.

Remaining grievances of the Island.

On the whole, these arrangements appear to have given the islanders entire satisfaction, both then and ever since, in regard of their tenures. But they had still their grievances, which the Keys, as their representatives, proceeded to discuss with the Council, and not finding there very much sympathy, drew up a remarkable paper, which bears date, it will be observed, only a week after the settlement.

"To the Right Hon^{ble} James Earl of Derby, Lord of Man and the Isles, &c. The humble address of the 24 Keys, the Representatives of your people there.

"Since it has graciously pleased your Lordship to restore your people by an Act of Settlement to all and every of their ancient holdings in your Isle of Mann . . . with hope to be governed by Law: w^{ch} gives them great cause to return their most dutiful acknowledgments for so great a blessing, and to offer up their fervent prayers to Almighty God to crown you with many happy years and eternal glory:—Yet, considering the instability of human affairs and the uncer-

tainty of all temporal thrones and dominions, we humbly presume to offer to your Lordship's grave consideration, that if at any time hereafter any of your Lordship's Successors or their Assigns should be dissatisfied with the aforesaid Act of Settlement, and endeavour either to break the same, or (on ill success in that attempt) by other meanes to impose on the estates and fortunes of your people and their posterity;—w^ch^ your people humbly conceive may be done whilst the customs and duties of all goods imported and exported (as is now practised, and was one of the great grievances in the late government) are in his power to advance according to his unlimited pleasure, w^ch^ will inevitably and too apparently ruin your Island:—

"We therefore, the Representatives of your Lordship's people, most humbly pray that all customs and duties put upon goods outwards and inwards, and the prohibition or allowance of goods, may for the future receive the concurrence and assent of your Council and 24 Keys." "This," they plead, "is agreeable to the constitution of all well governed commonwealths, and will secure your people and their posterity from any arbitrary government and oppression, when it shall please God for our sins to punish us by taking from us so good a Lord and Master as your Lordship, and giving us one of a contrary spirit." They allege instances from the ancient statute laws of the island [k].

Next, they remind his Lordship that the Act of Settlement requires his tenants to be ready with their fines in a year and six months at the latest:—"Yet, considering the general scarcity of money in your said Island, and the slowness of our markets and commerce; especially if the same should be again obstructed, as sometimes has been of late years; (which was another grievance complained of) . . . we therefore most humbly pray that a free market for the exportation of all manner of goods may be granted and passed into a law, for the better and more speedy enabling of your people to pay their respective fines, and to prevent the mischiefs of

[k] Particularly in 1561, and in 1594, "and that Resolve of the 2 Deemsters and 24 Keys touching the penny fee, as an Appendix to the Book of Rates in the Statute Book, in 1593, touching the Custome of Timber. In all w^ch^ the advice of the 24 Keys was required and obtained as necessary and lawfull."

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arbitrary government. And that no obstruction be hereafter made to any such markets, but by the advice and consent of the 24 Keys, as necessity and occasion shall require.

"And we also further pray that it may be enacted as a Law, that no orders of public concern touching either the Government of the Island or the punishing and fining of your people (another of the people's complaints in the late government) w^ch^ are not warranted by the Laws already made or to be made, may be of any force, or be put in execution, but be declared void and of no effect, till the same receive the concurrence and allowance of your people's representatives, the 24 Keys; that so all umbrage of arbitrary government may be removed, and your people have knowledge of the rule of their obedience."

"Great and good Lord!" (so they subjoin,) "these are at present the chiefest matters we have under consideration to make our settlement happy and lasting. But your Council here refuse to join with us therein; though there be severall other matters (of less moment) necessary to the welfare of your people to be passed into laws, w^ch^ when duly considered shall be humbly presented to your Lordship for your approbation. In the interim, we most humbly beseech these annext bills may receive your Lordship's favourable acceptation and allowance. Not that your people or their representatives seek to diminish your Lordship's customs, encroach on your prerogative, or disrespect the orders of the civil power; but to prevent the ill consequences of arbitrary government, against w^ch^ your Lordship was graciously pleased to declare your abhorrence to Mr. Christian of Unerigg, the Commissioners also promising at the making of the Settlement that laws should be made to prevent the same. And from w^ch^ we both hope and pray your Lordship will chearfully protect and secure us by your gracious condescension to the above and all other laws to be enacted for the establishment of the aforesaid Act of Settlement and the true intent thereof. In humble assurance whereof, and for your great favour conferred upon us, we do and shall (as in duty bound) for ever continue our sincere devotion for your Lordship's health and happiness, &c.

"*February* 11^th^, 1703."

This was signed by twenty out of the twenty-two Keys whose names appear at the foot of the Act of Settlement, the Bishop's friend, Ewan Christian of Lewaigue, being one of them. And Mr. Rowe the Comptroller, from whose copy[1] this is taken, states it to have been "delivered in by the 24 Keys." It would seem not to have been a party struggle, but a serious, deliberate movement of the whole body.

Subjoined to the petition is a postscript, which, after explaining a point of detail, adds what looks like a rough draft of the kind of statute they were desiring[m].

It is curious here, as elsewhere, to mark the politics of the little island, reflecting on a small scale the successive phases of English constitutional history. For the paper is, in fact, a Petition of Right; an effort, corresponding with that which had just proved so successful in England, to turn an arbitrary monarchical government into one overruled by a representative aristocracy. How it was received by Lord Derby does not appear. As to the Bishop, from the manner in which, as historian of the Isle of Man, he speaks of the constitution as he found it, one may suppose him to have concurred with the rest of the Council in declining to press at that time for a greater measure of popular authority.

But it is very much to be observed that the champions of that cause make no mention of any Church grievances. On the contrary, they had just been forward in sanctioning the Bishop's new canons, which on the face of them were plainly intended to promote real spiritual discipline, and what the world, then as now, had agreed to denominate Priestcraft. And they left untouched many subsisting regulations, which, now they are obsolete, sound strange and uncouth to all, and even in those days were complained of as absolute tyranny by such as claimed to have their own way in all things.

But in order to estimate fully this adherence to the old discipline on the part of the Manxmen of that generation, and also to supply a clue very needful for the remaining course of Wilson's history as a Bishop, it may be well to

[1] In the Rolls' Office, Castletown.

[m] See note at the end of the chapter.

CHAP. V. set down here something by way of abstract of the old canons, acknowledged in the diocese before he entered upon it.

NOTE, p. 192.

[*Postscript to the Memorial of the Keys, March* 9, 170$\frac{3}{4}$]

"Whereas the Antient Boons, services, and carriages of your Lo'p^{s} Tenants in the Island are by the Act of Settlement intended in favour of your people referred to our Consideration, The same having fallen under Debate betwixt your Lordship's Councel and ourselves, wherein we have not yet accorded; and our Body wanting severall members to compleat the number of 24 Keys: We have humbly presumed to leave all such carriages, Boones, and services on the same foot as already provided for by Law untill further Consideration of the same, most meekly beseeching your Lo'pp that we are ready to give all due observance to y^{r} Comands, and to promote your Lo'pp's just Rights and prerogative, as well as the welfare of your poor people.

"And that the people of this your Lo'p's Island may not again be in danger of being invaded or subverted in their Liberties and properties now restored unto them by the Act of Settlement, Be it Ordained and Enacted by your Lo'p and the authority of this Court of Tynwald that all orders, precepts, and Comands contrary to or not warranted by the known Laws of the said Isle be for ever hereafter adjudged holden and taken to be void and of no effect.

"And for the preventing of all excessive Fines and cruell punishments for the time to come, Be it Enacted and ordained by the authority aforesaid, that no Officer or Officers within the said Isle shall hereafter award, impose, or inflict any paine, penalty, fine, or imprisonment, or other Corporall punishment upon any the Inhabitants of the said Isle for any Contempt, Misdemean^{r}, Crime, or offence, untill such Offender be thereof convicted by the Verdict of six lawfull men returned by the Coroner of the Sheading where such offence was comitted, and then such only as by the known Laws and Customs of the said Isle are already or shall hereafter by Act of Tynwald be ordained or ascertained. And if any officer or officers shall presume to do to the contrary hereof, that then such officer or officers shall for such his or their offence be adjudged incapable of holding any office within the said Isle.

"And whereas of late years the Officers or Councell of the said Isle have imposed duties and Customs upon Goods and Merchandizes without the Consent of the 24 Keys, Be it enacted and or-

dained by the authority aforesaid that hereafter no duties and Customs shall be laid upon any Goods or Merchandizes within the said Isle imported or exported without the goodwill and assent of the 24 Keys of the said Isle in Tynwald, save what antiently hath been accustomed to have been paid for or upon such importation or Exportation.

"And whereas the Exportation of some of the comodities of the said Isle hath of late years been prohibited without the consent of the 24 Keys, to the great grievance and Damage of the people of the said Isle, Be it Declared that all such prohibitions be void and of no Effect. And to the end and intent that the trade of the said Isle may for all times to come be free and equal to all persons, Be it Enacted and ordained by the authority aforesaid, that from henceforth for ever hereafter no order, precept, or Command prohibiting the Exportac̃on of any of the comodities of the said Isle shall be granted or made without the consent of the 24 Keys of the said Isle.

"*9th March*, 1703.

"True Copyes Examined by me from the Original delivered in by the 24 Keyes.

"J. Rowe."

CHAPTER VI.

BISHOP WILSON'S CANONS.

If the constant tradition of the Manx Church be correct, (and I know no reason for doubting it,) its canons must have come in the first instance from Rome, with St. Patrick, Celestine's missionary. They would therefore be such as were commonly received at that time in the Western Church. And as there is no account of the island ever having become Pagan again, we may presume that on the whole the same order continued. Only the regulations, as in other dioceses, were modified and varied within certain limits according to the circumstances of the place. It will not, then, be surprising if the Manx canonical enactments, the produce in part of a fierce people, and of a rude unlettered age, appear sometimes cruel, sometimes grotesque, sometimes simply strange and uncouth, to our civilized and Protestant fancies.

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Ancient Manx Canons.

We have extant [n] three several sets of local canons, passed here in Diocesan Synods before the Reformation. The first, thirteen in number, synodically enacted, in the episcopate of Simon of Argyle, the founder of the cathedral, A.D. 1239. Two of them relate to the testamentary jurisdiction of the Church, the rest to certain minute payments to Church officers. The second series bears date 1291, and proceeds from a Synod holden in Kirk Braddan by Mark of Galloway. They are thirty-five in number, carefully and religiously drawn up, and provide for many important points touching ritual, discipline, the maintenance of the clergy, and the instruction of the laity. Six more canons were added at Kirk Michael, A.D. 1350, under Bishop William Russell, supplementary to the former, and of the same character with them. I think it may be truly said, that they breathe on the whole the spirit of Bishop Wilson, and in such measure as they had been acted on, would prepare the island for his work of reform [o].

Besides these, there were the "Breast Laws," or traditional rules of the Ecclesiastical Courts; which being set down from time to time, formed a considerable body of written law; but not until they had been acted on, though unwritten, for many generations. Of this description we have, 1. "A Book of the Spiritual Lawes and Customes belonging to the Isle of Man, copyed out of the Originall," and published by Mills in his "Ancient Ordinances," p. 46; and 2, a later collection, of which the history appears to be this:—During the government of the Great Earl, when he was only Lord Strange, A.D. 1636, he took order for having the "Breast Laws" committed to writing, with an account as exact as could be given of their application, extent, nature, formality, publicity, the mode of administering and of recording them. It does not appear how much was done towards carrying this plan into execution; but the very delineation of the intended task seems to shew a master's hand. Afterwards, in Earl Charles' time, 1667, at the suggestion doubtless of Bishop Barrow, the measure was resumed, and another "Book of Spiritual Laws" was compiled by Parr and Harrison, then

[n] Dugdale, Monast. Anglic., v. 253.

[o] See an abstract of them at the end of this chapter (Note A).

Vicars-General, and laid before the Bishop, who was also Governor of the island. A copy of this remains in the Episcopal Registry, headed thus: "The accustomed unwritten Laws until now practised continually by the Church are as follow." Then we have eighty-six rules, in addition to the fifty-nine contained in the former book, to which this occasionally refers. In all there are 145 "Breast Laws," which may be roughly classed according to their subjects under the seven heads mentioned below [p].

It is obvious, from the very heading of these laws, that they do not profess to be a code or system, but rather a set of judicial *dicta* or decisions, laid down as occasion arose, for the guidance of the courts in similar cases. Those which relate to ritual are for the most part abolished or superseded by the Prayer-book and English canons. On the other hand, a large portion of enactments,—those which regulate the disposition of the goods of the departed, and which from the first were professedly in accord with the customs of the English Church,—remain, it would appear, unaffected by the Reformation; and will perhaps here and there admit of advantageous comparison with the practice of our own courts, e. g. in special care for the destitute. Thus, the second of the Manx "Breast Laws" signifies, that when a person dies in debt to the Lord of the Isle, and his debts "surmount" his inventory, the Lord's debt is first to be paid; secondly, orphans' goods; and afterwards the claimers "penny-pound like [q]:" whereas our rule favours the crown, but makes no mention of orphans [r].

Again, the Manx canons gave the Ordinary a power in certain cases of amending the dispositions or supplying the neglects of a deceased person, where they seemed obviously contrary to natural piety: as if any person making his will leave not even a nominal legacy to a legitimate child of his, unmarried, the Ordinary may make such child an executor with the rest; or "if any die intestate, having no children legitimately begotten, but only base children, then the Or-

[p] Of Church Dues, 44; Wills and Administrations, 47; Church Officers, 12; Criminal Matters, 34; Declaration of Prerogative, 5; Ritual, 1; Marriage, 2.

[q] I have met with this phrase nowhere but in the Manx Statute-book; in which it evidently means "at so much *per cent.*"

[r] Burn, E. L., iv. 302.

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dinary shall make and ordain his next of kindred, both of father's and mother's side, to be lawful executors; and the base begotten to be rewarded of charity, at the discretion of the Ordinary[s]." And in general the Ordinary was allowed a large discretion in apportioning the remains of a parent's property as was best for the education and maintenance of the children, somewhat perhaps like that exercised by the Court of Chancery for the benefit of infants in England. The principle apparently was, that the Church is in an especial sense a trustee for those whom "their father and their mother forsake."

Another portion of these statutes, and in quantity the most considerable, is taken up with providing for the payment of tithes, and other Church dues. But I think that those who examine them will find great pains taken to hinder over-payment as well as to protect the rights of the Church. The notion itself, indeed, of providing for spiritual functionaries by fixed offerings on each spiritual transaction, is now well-nigh discarded, as unseemly and very troublesome. But to the simple state of society in Man 150 years ago it was by no means ill-adapted, carrying out as it did that other maxim of ancient faith, "Thou shalt not appear before the Lord empty." And there is no appearance of its having led to any great amount of litigation or discontent, at least after the settlement made under the auspices of Earl James in 1643; when certain abuses which had become customary were remedied in an amicable way, after full discussion in the Earl's presence, between the clergy and proctors on the one part, and on the other part a jury of twenty-four, twelve of the Keys, and twelve selected from a body consisting of four deputies from the commonalty of each parish. The details may be seen in Mills's "Ordinances," p. 98, and have an air of real impartiality and equity. It must be remembered that in all causes merely pecuniary—touching tithe, for instance, and the payment of Church officers—there was an acknowledged appeal to the civil power. And it will be found, I believe, that few of the ecclesiastical decisions were reversed on such appeal.

The troubles which did eventually arise related rather to

[s] Mills, p. 46.

the administration of the Church's criminal jurisdiction, and to certain prerogatives claimed by the Bishop, partly under the customary laws above mentioned, partly under the general canons of the English Church. To these topics in our own time also reference is continually made by those who are inclined to disparage Bishop Wilson and his principles. But he had no more power than other public men to choose exactly his own instruments. He had to take things as he found them, and make the best of them. It was the course which both from conviction and from temper he would pursue in all things. And so in this matter of discipline he accepted the canons and customary laws of the diocese, and the machinery provided for enforcing them, and set himself to work them out according to what he understood to be their true intent.

Now the diocese of Man being in the province of York, was of course bound by the English canons as any other diocese would be: with this difference, that it was free to carry them out; the Acts of Parliament which supersede them in England having no force in Man, because that island was not especially mentioned in them. But besides these, in the criminal portion of the "Spiritual Statutes" peculiar to the island, and binding on the Bishop and his officers, I find the following, for various reasons requiring special notice. Most of them occur in Bishop Barrow's collection above-mentioned: no objection was made to them in his time, and they were acted on without demur or dispute, so far as we are told, down to the twentieth year of Bishop Wilson, 1718. The rest are in the Episcopal Registry.

"When any is irregular or disobedient unto the Sumner and Ordinary, the Ordinary hath used to send for aid unto the Constable of the Castle or of the Peel, who presently ought to send a soldier to bring such offender to the Bishop his Prison: and the same Soldier to have for his pains of every such offender at the discretion of the Ordinary." Again: "If the excommunicated will not appear, it hath been used to send for a soldier to bring the offender to the Bishop's Prison." Here we see how frankly and unreservedly, according to the theory at least of the Manx law, the State lent its aid to the Church. In other instances it is the

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Church aiding the State in the detection of criminals. "Those which are suspected of sorcery and witchcraft, and are presented by the Chapter-Quest,—the Ordinary doth examine all such causes; and finding any suspicion, shall appoint another jury of honest probable men within the same parish, and commit the party suspected in the mean time to the Bishop his Prison: and all the offences and crimes the jury do find or can prove the Ordinary shall write, and if the jury can bring or prove any notorious fact or crime done by the same person[t], then the Ordinary doth deliver the same person out of the Bishop's Prison to my Lord's Gaol and Court." The same process is appointed in charges of rape by the first "Customary Law." It seems that in case of offences deemed great and capital coming to the Church's knowledge otherwise than by confession, it was to do the Grand Jury's part, ascertaining whether or no there was a *primâ facie* case against the accused, and if there was, giving him over for his final trial to the secular arm.

Again: "An excommunicate person, persisting irregular, is to be imprisoned, and delivered over, body and goods, to the Lord's mercy." And "all fines imposed by the Church are given in charge to the Comptroller, after the Ordinary hath mitigated the same according to the Spiritual Statute." The Church will not make a gain of the man's penalty, but she reserves to herself the power of mitigating it. Again, Law 24: "He that strangles, drowns, or spills himself is not to receive Christian burial, besides the confiscation of his goods to the Lord."

Some of the enactments are marked with a generous and kindly cast of sentiment, such as might be looked for *in foro domestico;* for indeed the whole island was at that time little more than one large feudal family. Thus, "such as defame the dead were to do penance and to ask the kindred forgiveness, because it is done in disgrace of all relations; and publication to be made that none revive the same, in penalty of three pounds to the Lord's use, and forty days' imprisonment[u]." And "if any aspersion be cast on man or woman,

[t] That is, of course, substantiating the charge of witchcraft.

[u] There is an instance in the first year of Bishop Wilson: where a person had been upbraided with being descended from leprous persons and

the slanderer is to be punished if he cannot prove the same, and like publication is to be made for the living party as for the dead[x]."

Nor is it inconsistent with this, that some of the penalties savour of the rudeness, not to call it coarseness, natural to a half-educated people, and often very necessary to those who would deal effectually with them for their good. As in Law 22, the use of certain reproachful words is made punishable by wearing the "bridle" at the market cross, or to make seven Sundays' penance in several parish churches." A very severe censure, it may seem, for just calling a man a dog. Perhaps among the Manxmen of that time it might be a higher affront than we now account it, and so likely to lead to a breach of the peace. As to the "bridle," it is a kind of gag, which being put in a person's mouth hinders him or her from speaking articulately. A specimen, made by order of Bishop Wilson, was lately, perhaps is still now, shewn as a relic at Bishop's Court.

Law 23 has a still stranger sound. It ordains that "common whores be drawn after a boat in the sea, during the Ordinary's appointment." And there are repeated instances of its being carried out, in Wilson's time as before: just as in an early stage of English criminal law, "open lewdness grossly scandalous ... was punishable by the temporal judges, not only with fine and imprisonment, but also with such corporal infamous punishment as to the court in its discretion might seem meet, according to the heinousness of the crime[y];" such punishment, for example, as "whipping at the cart's tail," to which Shakespeare makes Lear allude as to no very unusual thing[z]. This in the Isle of Man was changed into being dragged without whipping through the water at the stern of a boat, which was called its "tail," probably in

self-murderers, and after the offender had publicly asked forgiveness, the Vicars-General forbid the repetition of the insult under the penalty mentioned in the text.

[x] And Law 54, "If a young woman shall happen to have a child, having therefore satisfied the law, and afterwards do marry; if any do upbraid her therewith to the vexation of her husband, such are to be punished at the Ordinary's discretion."

[y] Hawkins ap. Burn, Eccl. Law, iii. 373.

[z] Even within the memory of man this punishment has been more than once inflicted in the city of Exeter on market days, and through the length of the High-street, in which the market was held.

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allusion to the other punishment. The Manx fashion seems the less unseemly as well as the less severe of the two.

This, like some other penal enactments found among the Spiritual Statutes and customs, must not be mistaken for a mode of penance properly so called, any more than it was penance when the other clause of the same law was put in force, "Common whore-masters"—keepers of disorderly houses—"to be deeply fined, and also severely punished at the Ordinary's discretion;" or when, according to Law 71, a person was fined and put in the stocks for swearing. It was a summary punishment, which the Ordinary, acting *pro hac vice* as a magistrate, was empowered to inflict.

Law 19 provides a special censure for one striking a minister; another indication of an uncouth state of society. He is to be "excommunicated *ipso facto,* and do penance, and after satisfaction given to the law, to receive absolution, and be received at the church stile into the church by the minister reading before him the 51st Psalm, and before the congregation to repeat his schedule after the Minister." There is something in this severe, but not surely unloving. The offended person saying the Psalm for the offender, and so making himself partaker of his penance, expresses anything but revenge or priestly haughtiness.

The Manx Code implies Faith in the People.

But the main characteristic of the Manx ecclesiastical code was its perseverance in supposing that the people subject to it had faith, long after that too flattering idea had been practically given up in every other portion of the Reformed Church of England. For since the Toleration Act, enabling all that would to withdraw themselves from the obedience of the Church, yet to retain their full right to outward communion with the same Church; and the previous act, 13 Car. II. c. 12, abolishing the oath "*ex officio,*" and therefore making it impossible to protect holy things, except in the comparatively rare case of very definite crimes fully established by legal proof;—the English Church had surrendered itself, both in theory and in practice, to the hard necessity of doing without the ancient discipline. No blame need attach to its governors; the discipline presupposes faith generally prevailing: faith, first, in the reality

and grievous effect of excommunication; and next, in the real danger of taking a false oath. When these convictions are generally gone from men's minds, Church courts and Church laws may do much incidental good, but they can only help you to the shadow of that for which mainly they were ordained. In the diocese of Man, down to Wilson's time, this faith was still remaining in some tolerable measure. An oath was generally accounted a serious thing: and (as has been mentioned before) there were hardly any Dissenters. To all therefore who had any religion at all, excommunication was a reality. Accordingly we find (and the same is generally affirmed of the Northern civil codes, which in part displaced those of Rome) that a great part of the evidence in many cases lay in the voluntary oaths of one or more of the parties. Thus "in a difference depending betwixt party and party, when one gives it to the other upon his oath absolutely, there shall be no further hearing of that matter in the Spiritual Court." This implies so much trust in men's oaths as to ignore all risk of collusion.

Again: "When sufficient men are sworn to prize" (appraise) "children's goods, the said goods shall not be forced on them, under pretence of overrating them, (for men must discharge their consciences,) but the executors or overseers must take all things according to the prizement." Here, besides trusting men's oaths, the principle comes in of doing the best for the orphan.

They carry the two rules so far as to hold that "for fathering an illegitimate child the woman's oath is sufficient:" in this also protecting that which was supposed the weaker party. But she could not prove a promise of marriage "without lawful witnesses."

To the same head we may refer the process used in Juries of Enquiry; concerning which a paper of Bishop Wilson's is extant in the Supplement to his Maxims, (139). It was a summary proceeding, to find out lost or stolen goods, and detect trespassers. A jury of six was impanelled, before which suspected persons themselves, as well as others, might be examined on oath[a], "in relation to the committing of the fact enquired of either by themselves or others; and if any

[a] Mills, pp. 279, 280.

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person or persons (conscious of his or their own guilt) shall wilfully refuse to give such satisfaction on oath for the discovery of the offenders, he or they so refusing shall be held to be guilty of the fact." This continued to be law in the island until after 1777; for in that year the custom was again expressly recognised by statute, and the needful number of jurors reduced to four [b]. Indeed I find no repeal of it until 1817 [c]. Bishop Wilson in the paper referred to argues much in its behalf from Holy Scripture; I mean in behalf of legal purgation in general; alleging Levit. v. 1; Exod. xxii. 11, &c.

Upon such grounds the ancient Manx legislators encouraged especially that solemn process of purgation which is called "Swearing upon the Grave;" thus described in the tenth Customary Law:—"He that enters his claim within the year and a day after the probate of the will ... without bill, bond, or evidence, shall prove the same upon the grave of him or her from whom the debt was due, with lawful compurgators according to the antient form; that is to say, lying on his back with the Bible on his breast, and his compurgators on either side one. And if he do not prove as well as enter within the year and a day, he is nonsuited in the Spiritual Court, and to have no hearing in the Temporal, when [? where] the orphans and relations are less able to answer or defend themselves." Note here, by the way, the constant care for orphans.

In general, this swearing on the grave seems to have been prescribed in default of documentary evidence between a deceased person, his debtors, and creditors. As early as 1609, however, it had been denounced by the temporal authorities, as "not fitting nor Christian-like." Yet the custom held its ground, and Bishop Wilson thought it his duty to conform to it.

As for the disciplinary use of compurgation, such as had been retained in the courts of the diocese from the old Roman Catholic times,—in which it had gradually superseded the use of *purgatio vulgaris*, that is, of trial by combat, and the various kinds of ordeal,—nothing can be more frank

[b] Mills, p. 366.

[c] Ibid. 453.

and unhesitating than the Bishop's approbation of it. "There is here one very wholesome branch of Church discipline; the want of which in many other places is the occasion that infinite disorders go unpunished; namely, the injoining offenders purgation by their own oaths, and the oaths of compurgators (if need be) of known reputation, where the fame is common, the crime scandalous, and yet not proof enough to convict them. And this is far from being complained of as a grievance; for if common fame has injured any person, he has an opportunity of being restored to his good name, (unless, upon trial, the court finds just cause to refuse it); and a severe penalty is laid upon any that shall after this revive the scandal. On the other hand, if a man will not swear to his own innocency, or cannot prevail with others to believe him, it is fit he should be treated as guilty, and the scandal removed by a proper censure[d]."

And he might appeal to high precedents. St. Augustine[e] reports a case which he witnessed at Milan: how that in a certain chapel, where "in a marvellous and fearful way dæmons are wont to acknowledge [Christ], a certain thief, who had come there to deceive men by a false oath, was compelled to acknowledge his theft, and to restore what he had taken." And he ordered his own practice accordingly, directing both accuser and defendant, in a doubtful case, to "purge themselves" at the tomb of St. Felix at Nola, as being a place where miracles were sometimes wrought.

It is evident also that St. Gregory the Great[f] resorted habitually to the same method, not only when he was himself in doubt, but also where he thought it needful, the more entirely to suppress any scandal which had been raised.

Obviously, when miracles were no longer to be looked for, the whole efficacy of such an institution depended on the faith of the people practising it. Its discontinuance therefore in modern times, even where the Canon Law is in the main still observed, proves nothing against the institution itself. Bishop Wilson saw no reason to think that the faith of the Manxmen had as yet so decayed in his time as to make it impossible to walk by the ancient rules. And he

[d] History of the Isle of Man; Works, i. 486.

[e] Ep. 78. ap. Devoti, lib. iii. c. 26.

[f] Lib. ii. Ep. 33; vii. 18; xiii. 34. ap. Devoti.

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entered on the administration of them with all his heart and soul, making it a part of his prayers, every evening of his life, "that godly discipline may be restored and countenanced."

The new Canons accepted by the Clergy.

The civil arrangement, so welcome to the whole island, in which Providence had just made him instrumental, was an opportunity for promoting that desirable result too favourable to be missed. Accordingly he summoned a convocation of his clergy the day before the passing of the Act of Settlement, and laid before them his famous Ecclesiastical Constitutions, in which the existing rules are fully recognised, and provision made for enforcing, by their means, the whole edifying system of the Prayer-book.

ECCLESIASTICAL CONSTITUTIONS.

INSULA MANNIÆ.

"*At a Convocation of the Clergy at Bishop's Court, the 3rd day of February*, 1703.

"In the name of our great Lord and Master, the Lord Jesus Christ, and to the glory and increase of His kingdom amongst men;

"We, the Bishop, Archdeacon, Vicars-General, and Clergy of this Isle, who do subscribe these articles, that we may not stand charged with the scandals which wicked men bring upon religion, while they are admitted to and reputed Members of Christ's Church; and that we may by all laudable means promote the conversion of sinners, and oblige men to submit to the discipline of the Gospel: And lastly, that we may provide for the instruction of the growing age in Christian learning and good manners: We have formed these following Constitutions, which we oblige ourselves (by God's help) to observe; and to endeavour, that all others within our several cures shall comply with the same.

"I. That when a Rector, Vicar, or Curate, shall have any number of persons, under twenty, of his parish, desirous and fit to be confirmed, he shall give the Lord Bishop notice thereof, and a list of their names, and shall suffer none to offer themselves to be confirmed, but such as he has before instructed to answer in the necessary parts of Christian knowledge; and who, besides their Church Catechism, have learned such short prayers for morning and evening, as shall be immediately provided for that purpose.

"II. That no person be admitted to the Holy Sacrament till he

has been first confirmed by the Bishop; or, (in case of his Lordship's absence or indisposition,) to bring a certificate from the Archdeacon, or Vicars-General, that he is duly qualified for confirmation.

"III. That no person be admitted to stand as Godfather or Godmother, or to enter into the holy state of Matrimony, till they have received the Holy Sacrament of the Lord's Supper; unless, being an orphan, there be a necessity for his speedy marriage; and this to be approved of, and dispensed with, by the Ordinary for a limited time, to fit himself for the Sacrament: And where any of them are of another parish, they are to bring a certificate from their proper Pastor.

"IV. That all children and servants unconfirmed, of such a division of the parish as the Minister shall appoint, (which shall be at least one-fourth part thereof,) shall constantly come to evening prayers, to be instructed in the principles of the Christian Religion; at which time every Rector, Vicar, or Curate shall employ at least half an hour in their examination, and explaining some part of the Church Catechism. And that all parents and masters who shall be observed by their children's and servants' ignorance to be grossly wanting in their duty, in not teaching them this Catechism, shall be presented for every such neglect, and severely punished. And, to the end that this so necessary an institution may be religiously observed, every Minister shall always (by the assistance of the Churchwardens) keep a catalogue of such persons as are not confirmed, and is hereby required to present those that are absent without urgent cause, who shall be fined two-pence the first Sunday they omit to come, four-pence the second, and sixpence the third; in which case the parents are to be answerable for their children, and masters for their servants; unless where it appears that the servants themselves are in the fault.

"V. For the more effectual discouragement of vice, if any person shall incur the censures of the Church, and, having done penance, shall afterwards incur the same censures, he shall not be admitted to do penance again (as has been formerly accustomed) until the Church be fully satisfied of his sincere repentance; during which time he shall not presume to come within the church, but be obliged to stand in a decent manner at the church door every Sunday and Holiday the whole time of morning and evening service, until by his penitent behaviour, and other instances of sober living, he deserve and procure a certificate from the minister, churchwardens, and some of the soberest men of the parish, to the satisfaction of the Ordinary; which if he do not so deserve and

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procure within three months, the Church shall proceed to excommunication: And that during these proceedings, the Governor shall be applied to not to permit him to leave the island.

"And this being a matter of very great importance, the Minister and Churchwardens shall see it duly performed, under penalty of the severest ecclesiastical censures.

"And whenever any daring offender shall be and continue so obstinate as to incur excommunication, the Pastor shall affectionately exhort his parishioners not to converse with him, upon peril of being partaker with him in his sin and punishment.

"VI. That the Rubrick before the Communion, concerning unworthy receivers thereof, may be religiously observed, every Rector, Vicar, or Curate shall first privately, and then publickly, admonish such persons as he shall observe to be disorderly livers; that such as will not by this means be reclaimed may be hindered from coming to the Lord's Table, and being presented, may be excommunicated.

"And if any Minister knowingly admit such persons to the Holy Sacrament, whose lives are blemished with the vices of drunkenness, tippling, swearing, profaning the Lord's Day, quarrelling, fornication, or any other crime by which the Christian religion is dishonoured, before such persons have publickly acknowledged their faults, and solemnly promised amendment, the Minister so offending shall be liable to severe ecclesiastical censures.

"VII. If any moar, serjeant, proctor, or any other person, shall presume on the Lord's Day to receive any rent or sums of money, both he and the person paying such rent or sums of money shall be liable to ecclesiastical censure, and shall always be presented for the same.

"VIII. That the practice of commutation as has been formerly accustomed; namely, of exempting persons obnoxious to the censures of the Church from penance and other punishment appointed by law, on account of paying a sum of money, or doing some charitable work, shall for the future cease.

"IX. For the promotion of religion, learning, and good manners, all persons shall be obliged to send their children, as soon as they are capable of receiving instruction, to some petty school, and to continue them there until the said children can read English distinctly; unless the parents give a just cause to excuse themselves, approved of by the Ordinary in open court: And that such persons who shall neglect sending their children to be so taught shall (upon a presentment made thereof by the minister, churchwardens, or chapter-quest) be fined one shilling per quarter to the use of the

schoolmaster, who may refuse to teach those children who do not come constantly to school, (unless for such causes as shall be approved of by the Minister of the parish,) and their parents shall be fined as if they did altogether refuse to send them to school. CHAP. VI.

"And for the further encouragement of the schoolmasters, they shall respectively receive, over and above the salaries already allowed them, sixpence quarterly from the parents of every child that shall be taught by them to read English, and nine-pence quarterly from such as shall be taught to write; which sums being refused, the sumner shall be ordered to require punctual payment within fourteen days; and upon default thereof they are to be committed till they submit to law. Notwithstanding, where the parents or relations are poor, and not able to pay as aforesaid, and this be certified by the Ministers and Churchwardens of the parish to the Ordinary, such children are to be taught gratis.

"And whereas some of the poorer sort may have just cause, and their necessities require it, to keep their children at home for several weeks in the summer and harvest; such persons shall not be liable to the penalties aforesaid, provided they do (and [they] are hereby strictly required to) send such children, during such absence from school, every third Sunday to the parish church, at least one hour before evening service, there to be taught by the schoolmaster, to prevent losing their learning: And if any schoolmaster shall neglect his duty, and complaint be made and proved, he shall be discharged, and another placed in his stead, at the discretion of the Ordinary: And every Rector, Vicar, or Curate shall the first week of every quarter visit the petty school, and take an account in a book of the improvement of every child, to be produced as often as the Ordinary shall call for it.

"X. For the more effectual suppression of vice, &c., the Minister, and Churchwardens, and Chapter-quest shall, the last Sunday of every month, after evening prayers, set down in writing the names of all such persons as without just cause absent themselves from church; of parents, masters, and mistresses, who neglect to send their children and servants to be catechised; of parents and guardians, who send not their children to school; and all other matters they are bound by their oaths to present. And that they may conscientiously discharge their duty, the Articles of Visitation are to be read to them at every such meeting: And this to be done under pain of the severest ecclesiastical censures."

The Canons accepted by the Civil Power.

Observe that these Constitutions are purposely so framed throughout as to avoid all respect of persons. All ranks

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are made equally censurable, equally liable to be called to account for neglecting in spiritual things those entrusted to their charge. On the wealthier especially would tell the prohibition for agents to receive payments on Sundays, and most especially the entire doing away with "commutation of penance,"—"the fogging proctorage of money," as Milton[g] calls it. Bishop Barrow in his time had been very earnest in endeavouring to suppress it, yet instances occur between his episcopate and Wilson's; under the latter not one is recorded.

So much the more significant is the first of the concluding memoranda; so much the more remarkable the frank adhesion to it, which followed on the part of the laity without delay. "Now, forasmuch as some of the Orders and Constitutions in this Synod agreed unto are such as do require the authority of the Civil Power to make them effectual to the ends they are designed [for]; the Bishop and Archdeacon are earnestly desired to procure Confirmation from the Lord, his Council, and the 24 Keys, to the glory of God, and welfare of this Church.

"And for the better government of the Church of Christ, for the making of such Orders and Constitutions as shall from time to time be found wanting; and that better enquiry may be made into the execution of those that are in force; there shall be, God willing, a Convocation of the whole Clergy of the Diocese on Thursday in Whitsun week, every year after this, at the Bishop's Chapel, if his Lordship be within this Isle, or as soon as [may be] conveniently after his return.

"And that by these Constitutions we may more effectually oblige ourselves and others, we do each of us subscribe our names this 3d of February, 1703[h]."

The next day it was ratified by the Governor and Council. "*At a Tynwald Court, holden in St. John's Chapel, the 4th day of February*, 1703-4. The before Constitutions being

[g] Of Reformation in England, book ii. Prose Works by Symmons, i. 54.

[h] This is signed by "Thomas Sodor and Man; Sam. Wattleworth, Archdeacon; Robert Parr, Vicar-General; John Curghey, Vicar-General:" and the following ministers: "Thomas Allen, Sam. Robinson, Rob. Fletcher, John Taubman, Thos. Christian, Jo. Christian, Hen. Norris, Ewan Gill, Wm. Walker, John Parr, John Cosnahan, J. Woods, Wm. Gell, Matth. Curghey;" seventeen in all, according to the number of the island parishes.

this day offered by the Lord Bishop and Archdeacon of this Isle, unto us the Governor, Officers, and 24 Keys, for our approbation, and [? we] having perused the same, do find them very reasonable, just, and necessary; and do therefore approve of and consent to them, as far as concerns the Civil Power[i]." Then comes the "royal assent:"—"I am well pleased with the before Constitutions, and do confirm the same, and require that they be published at the next Tynwald Court, in usual manner. DERBY." The date is not given, but there was one step more before they could finally become law, and that is certified by the concluding memorandum[j]:—"*At a Tynwald Court, holden in St. John's Chappell the 6th day of June, Anno Domini* 1704. The beforegoing Constitutions were this day publicly proclaimed upon the Tynwald Hill, according to antient Form and Custome." This is witnessed by the Bishop, Governor, and Officers, and 19 of the Keys, as before; only with this difference, that three signatures which were absent before appear now, and three of the former are now absent. On the whole, twenty-two out of the twenty-four gave their names to the transaction. CHAP. VI.

It will have been observed that, with the one exception of the canon which forbids commutation of penance for money, the new code repeals nothing of what had legal sanction before. In the constitution then and general rules of procedure of the several Courts as Bishop Wilson found them, (of which a summary has been given above,) it does not appear that either he or those who were acting with him, either for the Lord of the Isle or for the islanders, were aware of any important grievance. Otherwise they would scarcely have allowed such an opportunity of reform to pass away.

We hear and read sometimes of the happy conformity of some well-conducted parish to the plans of some popular and self-denying clergyman. But for a whole diocese we shall hardly meet with anything, at least in modern Church history, superior or even equal to this. Cruttwell in few words expresses most significantly the effectiveness of the

[i] Then follow the signatures of Robert Mawdesley, *Governor;* Chris. Parker, *Receiver-General;* J. Rowe, *Comptroller;* Will. Ross, Jo. Bridson, *Water-Bailiffs;* John Parr, Dan. M'Ylrea, *Deemsters;* and of nineteen out of the twenty-four Keys.

[j] Mills, p. 163.

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reformed Manx canons, when he remarks that they "supersede, virtually, the Preface to the Commination Office."

And he adds, no doubt from trustworthy information, "Lord Chancellor King was so much pleased with these Constitutions, that he said, 'If the ancient discipline of the Church were lost, it might be found in all its purity in the Isle of Man.'" The date of this statement is not given, but we are told that some twenty years afterwards the Bishop and the Chancellor were in communication on the best way of answering scruples about the Oath of Abjuration—an occasion which might well draw out such a testimony; the more valuable, in some sense, from the known Presbyterian cast of Lord King's sentiments, as well as from his learning and acuteness. He did not become Chancellor until 1725.

Within a week of this day of successful legislation, the Bishop narrowly escaped being taken away without seeing anything of the fruit of his labours. Thursday, Feb. 10th, 1703, is marked by the following memorandum[k]:—"*The very haires of your head are all numbered.* Blessed be the good Providence of God, w^ch^ secures and delivers us from dangers w^ch^ no care can prevent, no skill, but the hand of God only, can free us from.

"The Cookmaid having left a pin in the breast of a Fowl, I swallowed it unawares, but by the help of a vomit, and God's great goodness to me, I got it up again: for Whose goodness I desire to be ever thankful, and beseech Him that I may never forget the many peculiar favours I have received at His hands. *Let them give thanks whom the Lord hath delivered,* &c." He adds, as one glad to be reminded of a forgotten duty, "Set down the remarkable deliverances, &c. When I was wounded in the head. Gunpowder with W. Woods."

Beginnings of the Reformed Discipline.

Towards the conclusion of the following Lent, namely, on the 6th of April, he performed his first Act of Discipline under the new Canons, and a very serious one it was, as we have before seen,—the degradation of the Vicar of Kirk Braddan, accompanied with the forfeiture of whatever fell

[k] M. H. lxxxvii.

due to him at Easter; which was to be spent in reparation of the vicarage, the Bishop assisting with a donation of £6, and at the same time providing, at his own expense, for the "rendering and flagging" of the chancel, and for a new window there. (The lovers of his memory will not be displeased at the mention, here and elsewhere, of these his minor works, were it only that it will enable those within reach of the several spots to trace his hand in them.) On the 4th of August in the same year he finished his work at St. John's, the chapel adjoining the Tynwald Hill.

It seems that in this early part of his episcopate especially he had frequently to settle disputes regarding pews; and under the circumstances of the island, he raises no objection to the annexing of them to houses and estates: as in Malew, June 27, 1704, he confirms, as far as in him lies, the occupation of certain pews in the chancel itself to those who had been permitted to erect them, only stipulating that they must not expect, as some of them did, to have places kept for them in the body of the church besides; and that they shall pay a certain regular assessment, half to the chancel and half to the church. This assumes what ought obviously to be a condition of all territorial appropriation of pews, namely, that the church can accommodate the whole population of the parish or district, which we may well imagine to have been generally the case in Man at that early time. It assumes also that there was real discipline, so that no person might assert his claim if he had forfeited it by schism or other grave offence. As to the fashion of the pews, he orders and empowers the wardens to see them decently regulated, and all made of the same length, breadth, and height. A little before this, May 1, 1704, he had directed the churchwardens of Jurby to allow for the necessities of the parish one large seat for every two quarters of land; and also, as near as may be, to appoint every farmer his seat where formerly his ancestors had been accustomed to have their seat. Thus careful was he, in matters comparatively indifferent, to allow for people's innocent likings and dislikings.

It is another instance of his considerate way, that he was always willing, as a disciplinarian, to make allowances, and

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give persons who were put into court every fair chance of coming off unharmed. And there would be much need of this, considering the average tempers and attainments of those who commonly formed the Chapter Quests, not to say of the clergy themselves. From spite, or foolishness, or a wish to be important, many a frivolous and vexatious presentment would occur. Perhaps the following, which occur here and there in the registers, may be taken—a few out of many—as instances of his disposition to mitigate penalties whenever he could. In this same year, 1703, somebody was presented for swearing "at the church stile" immediately after prayers on Sunday. The Bishop's indorsement is, "This person appearing very much concerned for his rash expression, the Court thinks fit to pass by any further censure."

May 7, 1708, he writes thus to Vicar-General Parr, concerning an unnamed penitent:—"Having received such worthy testimonies of this person's behaviour and penitence, I think fit to suspend the remainder of his censures, in hopes this favour will be a means under God's grace of making him a better man for the future. These are therefore to direct you to receive him into the Peace of Christ's Church according to the Form for receiving Penitents, on Sunday next; and I do require you to be very careful in observing his life and conversation for the future, and to admonish him, if need require, and to give me an account if he shall not behave himself orderly and as becomes a Christian." In 1712-13, March 24, one "Patt Quilliam" (possibly an Irishman) pleads for a discharge from St. German's on the ground of his having aged and feeble parents, who "have not in his absence the least help to plow or sow their land, &c.; nor so much as to tie or untie a beast and lead him to water:" and he suggests that the rest of his sentence (which lay upon him in consequence of his not having properly submitted himself in the first instance) might as well be made easier, "few being so fond of punishment as to put themselves upon it as long as they can evade the same." The Bishop's indorsement is characteristic:—"If this be the Petitioner's own sense, tis plain he is neither sensible of his crimes, nor understands the meaning of Church Censures, which rather than he w^d of himself perform he has absented from the

Sacrm^ns^ for some years. However, for his Father's sake, CHAP. VI.
and in Hopes that by the Rest of his censures he may become more sensible of his faults, I do remitt his Imprisonm^t^, giving Bonds and pay^s^ Fees as the law requires."

It appears that about that season, a week or a fortnight before Easter, (which fell that year on April 5,) he was (not unnaturally) much occupied with applications for remission of penance. The records notice two others which came within a few days of the above, and it may be interesting to observe (besides his willingness to indulge) what a definite and distinct way he had of dealing with each case on its own merits, as unlike as possible to the monotony of official routine. March 28, 1712-13, he was solicited on behalf of a young woman who had undergone part of her censure, (the crime is called "heinous," but is not specified). She is represented as "for a whole year continually moaning and weeping, and sometimes crying out so that it is really to be doubted she will (if not already) grow melancholy and unsettled." This is backed by a dismal account of other calamities in the family, and by a good report of the young person's former conduct. And Mr. Parr, of Kirk Bride, her pastor, and his neighbour at Andreas, Archdeacon Wattleworth, testify to the danger of her becoming "melancholy;" the latter (who possibly knew more Manx than he did English) adding, "she is one of the most penitent *and shamefull* offenders that hath been for many years." After so much pathetic pleading the Bishop's answer sounds rather dry:— "Mr. Parr, I am prevail'd on to suspend the remainder of this woman's censure; you are therefore to receive her into the Church on Sunday next according to the Form for receiving penitents."

The very next day, March 29, he had before him a like petition from a woman of Malew, Sarah Christian, who, for fornication and perjury, had been sentenced, so far back as June 1709, to do penance in all the churches and chapels of the island. She had done so in three of them, but at long intervals, "and would ere now have proceeded in her Penance, but that whatever she earns by her constant labour is wholly laid out for the support of herself and her poor child, and after all a very hard and mean living, so that she

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has not so much as one penny to pay ministers' and sumners' fees. And as her repentance is unfeigned, so she can appeal to the neighbourhood where she lives for her sorrowful behaviour since she fell into these sins." Three clergymen's certificates are added, and the Bishop writes, "The very worthy account I have had of this poor woman's behaviour makes me hope that the censures of the Church have had a good effect upon her in order to her conversion. I do therefore suspend the remainder of her penance, and do desire and require that she be solemnly received into the Church by the Pastor of her own Parish, as soon as conveniently it may be done." The difference of tone may be partly due to the Bishop's having more confidence in the clerical certificates in this case than in the former. He had had occasion a little before to warn his archdeacon against too much reliance on petitions of that sort, the composition of which had grown into a trade[1]." In 1725, Feb. 10, a person had been censured for a rash word; the Bishop writes, "The Petitioner's indigent condition considered, his imprisonment is dispensed with, provided he pay fees" (which would be very trifling) "and give bonds" not to repeat the offence.

Lord Derby's favourable Injunction.

The Discipline, thus fairly launched and considerately administered, had every chance, humanly speaking, of success, if it were only left free of interference from without; and for several years, that is so long as Mawdesley was Governor, it was not only unmolested, but had the direct countenance of the civil power according to law; as an earnest of which, about six months after the Settlement, the Lord of the Isle, yet retaining his good impressions, was moved to issue the following injunction, corresponding with the Proclamations against Vice and Immorality which from time to time the Kings and Queens of England have been long accustomed to set forth:—

"To my Governor and the rest of my Councell in my Isle of Mann.

"Notwithstanding my earnest desire of having all my people

[1] See hereafter in Kneale's case, March 22, 1711.

easy, yet I cannot expect to see the lasting fruits of a happy Settlement, untill I have taken care that the honour of God be secured by incouraging Religion and vertue, and by discountenaneing all such viees and immoralities as are a scandal to all Christianity, and a weight under which no people can thrive and prosper long.

"These are therefore to require you and all persons concerned in the government of that my Isle, whether ecclesiastical, military, or civil, that you do heartily coneur and assist each other in the punishing and discountenancing vice and immorality. And because drunkenness and expensive tippling in a country which complains so much of poverty is equally sinful and unsufferably scandalous, and profane swearing and cursing and the neglect of the publick worship of God are crimes less pardonable amongst people who do so much and so visibly depend upon God's Providence both at sea and land for a subsistence, I do therefore expect from every one of you that you set yourselves against these vices in particular, and all other disorderly praetiees which are so offensive towards God, and scandalous to all people professing Christianity. In order to this, I do hereby require all persons who have any employment of profit or trust under me to live soberly and regularly, that vice and irreligion may have no countenance from those who are appointed to suppress them; and if there be any sueh person, whether civil or military, who are not hereby restrained, I do expeet to be informed thereof, that care may be taken to supply their places with men of better principles and more vertuous lives.

"And I do hereby require the Bishop and Clergy of my said Isle, as they are bound by the duty they owe to God, and as they will answer for the souls committed to their charge, that they forewarn their people at all times, and especially at such times as this letter shall be appointed to be read in their respective Parish Churches, of the great danger a nation is in when once these sins become general, and that the vengeance and wrath of God is most near a people when they sin without fear and without restraint. And I do expect that both the Clergy and Laity will religiously observe these orders, since the purity and uniformity of their religion, the prosperity of their country, and the welfare of their posterity so much depend upon it.

"And that this concern of mine for the discountenancing of vice may be known to all, I do hereby order that this letter be read in all Churches of the Island at sueh times as my Council shall appoint, and that the original remain with you as an instance of my settled purpose of encouraging those only who shall distinguish themselves

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by an honest and sober behaviour in opposition to all vice and impiety whatsoever.

"Given under my hand, at London, the first day of September, Anno Domini 1704.

"DERBY."

At the next Tynwald this paper was directed to be publicly read in every church. It bears some marks, I think, of the Bishop's own hand. At any rate, it shews how far at that time good influences prevailed with the Earl; and the contrast between it and other documents which we shall come to by and by may suggest many grave thoughts.

Mrs. Wilson's illness.

It came to the Bishop at a time of sore grief and anxiety, for it pleased God that this year of greatest success in his public undertakings should bring with it the greatest sorrow and bereavement of his domestic life. Lord Derby's proclamation bears date Sept. 1, and on the fifth of the same month Bishop Wilson had to set sail for England with his wife, "who had been for some time in a declining state of health," to try, it may be, whether she might derive benefit from her former home and her native air. For whatever reason, they left their two children in the island, as is shewn by one of his memoranda on his return; "Having buryed my Dear Wife, I returned to my Dear Children." They landed at Whitehaven, embarking probably at Douglas. The Bishop's memorandum is, "Sept. 5, 1704. Whitehaven wth my sick wife, 6," (in his other book it is "ab^{t} 5 hours,") and in a different "phase" of his handwriting, at some other time, he has added "a great deliverance." Whether they chose Whitehaven, which is by far the shortest passage between Man and England, as thinking the land journey, though so much longer, less likely to distress her than the voyage, or whether they were driven into that port by stress of weather, does not appear. Her resting-place, from which she never seems to have moved, was her mother's house at Warrington; and there the Bishop continued with her, praying for and comforting her, as long as she needed comfort. This was his prayer for her in her sickness[m].

[m] MS. ii. p. 76.

"Heb. xii. 6. *Whom the Lord loveth He chasteneth, and scourgeth every son whom He receiveth.*

"O Lord, infinitly merciful, Thy very corrections are the effects of Thy Love, therfore do Thy faithful servants rejoyce in the midst of their sorrows, stedfastly believing, that all things shall work together for good to those that fear God and trust in His mercy.

"For Thou, O Lord, dost convince us by the afflictions which Thou bringest upon us, That nothing deserves our Love but Thee; That no Being in Heaven or on Earth can help us besides Thee; And that the sufferings of this life are not to be compared to y^e^ happyness of the next.

"This is our faith and confidence, *that every good gift cometh from above;* and y^t^ our sorrow for our offences, our desires of being reconcil'd unto Thee, our purposes of amendment, are all the fruits of Thy Holy Spirit, which dos nothing in vain, and w^ch^, if we resist not Thy grace, will form our soules for the happyness of a better Life.

"Gracious God, let it so happen unto this Thy servant visited with Thine Hand; that she may take her sickness patiently, and with a perfect submission to Thy will, bear whatever Thou shalt be pleas'd to lay upon her. That y^e^ sickness of her body may contribute to y^e^ health of her soul, that being made perfect thro' sufferings, she may be own'd by her Blessed Saviour, Who thro' great afflictions entered into glory.

"Give her grace y^t^ she may know wherin she has offended Thee, that she may truly Repent of all the errors of her life past; and do Thou, O merciful God, for y^e^ sake of Jesus Christ, accept of her Repentance and be reconcil'd to her, who has no hope but in Thy great mercy; that she may not suffer the paines of sickness, without the comforts of grace, and the hopes of being belov'd by Thee.

"Grant, O Lord, that her faith in Thy sight may never be reprov'd, but that she may stedfastly believe the great Truthes of the Gospell, the Promise of Pardon and Grace to penitent sinners, the Promise of Eternal life to those that dye in the true faith and fear of God; that Jesus Christ is the Resurrection and the Life, y^t^ whosoever believeth in Him, tho' he were dead, yet shall he live. Increase this

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knowledge and confirm this faith in Thy servant, y^t she may be numbred amongst Thy saints in glory everlasting.

"Pour into her heart such Love towards Thee, y^t she may love Thee above all things, obey Thy commands, and submit to Thy wise dispensations; that she may for Thy sake Love all mankind, forgive all that have injur'd her, and desire to be forgiven of all those whom she may have offended, in thought, word, or deed.

"Thy loving kindness, O Lord, is better than life itself; O satisfy her with Thy mercy, that she may with a willing mind give up that breath, w^ch she receiv'd from Thee; that when she shall depart this life she may rest in Jesus Christ; and that at the general Resurrection at the last day she may be found acceptable in Thy sight, and receive that blessing which Thy well beloved Son shall then pronounce to all that love and fear Thee, saying, Come ye blessed children of my Father, receive the kingdome prepared for you from the begining of the world. Grant this we beseech Thee, O Heavenly Father, thro' Jesus Christ, our Mediator and Redeemer. Amen. Amen.

"Eccles. vii. 4. *The heart of the wise is in the house of mourning.*

"We most humbly beseech Thee, of Thy goodness, O Lord, to visit and succour all that are in affliction of mind or body; all that are poor and have none besides Thee to help them. Let the adversities of others make us serious and thoughtful of what may come herafter; and teach us, in the daily spectacles of sorrow, sickness, and mortality, to see how frail and uncertain our own condition is, and so to number our days that we may apply our hearts unto that Holy and Heavenly wisdome whilst we live here, w^ch may in the end bring us to life everlasting. Amen."

Mrs. Wilson's death.

So passed the winter; but early in spring the expected blow came upon him. "My Wife, my Dear Wife, dyed, March 7, 1704." And thus he commemorated her departure[n].

"Prov. x. 7. *The memory of the just is Blessed.*

"Almighty God, the Author of Life and death, Who dost not afflict willingly, nor greive the children of men,

[n] MS. ii. 81—88.

I do in all Humility submit my will entirely to Thine, most humbly beseeching Thee to accept of my thanks and praise, for all the graces and favours vouchsafed unto my wife, now in Peace.

"For her great modesty and meekness of spirit.

"For her remarkable dûty to her Parents and love to her relations.

"For her great love to me and my friends, and for her fidelity to her marriage vowes.

"For her tender affection for her children in performing all the offices of a Kind and Pious Mother.

"For her peculiar care of her family, and the Prudence and mildness by which she govern'd it.

"For her unaffected Modesty in her own and her children's apparel, and the great Humility of her conversation with all sorts of persons.

"For her great compassion for the poor and miserable, and her chearful complyance with me in releiving them.

"I bless Thy holy name for these, and all other fruits of Thy Holy Spirit; but above all I most heartily thank the Lord for her Pietye to Him during her health, and for His mercies to her in the time of sickness.

"For her hearty repentance, stedfast faith in the promises of the Gospel, unfeigned charity, Her humble submission to God's good pleasure, and Patient suffering what His hand had laid upon her.

"For all the spiritual comforts the gracious God did vouchsafe her, the opportunities of receiving the blessed Sacrament, the Prayers of the Faithful, the Ministry of Absolution, and the assistance of her pious friends at the hour of Death.

"With these Reflections I comfort my soul, stedfastly believing that none of these graces and favours were lost upon her, but that she departed in the true faith and fear of God; and therfore I do humbly pray to Thee, O blessed Jesus, in Whose hands are the soules of the faithful after they are delivered from the Burthen of the Flesh, that we may in Thy good time meet in Joy, and have our perfect consummation and Bliss both in body and soul in Thy Eternal Kingdome.

"And in the meantime, I humbly pray Thee to recom-

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pense me and my poor family with the comforts of grace for this great loss.

"Give me chast Reines and thoughts; a decent behaviour becoming my character and the state of widowhood; make my children a Blessing to me, my servants prudent and faithful, my friends kind and respectful; and be Thou, O gracious God, more than all Relations to Thy servant and his family, for Jesus Christ's sake. Amen.

"Eccles. vii. 3. *By the sadness of y^e^ countenance the heart is made better.*

"How good is God, when by His very displeasure we are gainers. He is pleas'd to exercise me with the loss of my dear wife, an excellent woman, in the very bloom of her yeares, in the very midst of our satisfactions, and yet upon a just acc^t^ I have no reason to complain, or to fret against God, since I have a comfortable assurance (thro' the merits of Christ) that she is at Rest, and secure under the custody of the Blessed Angels until the great day of Recompence; and for myself, tho' I want her's, yet I don't want the comfort of God's Holy Spirit, whose influence I feel in the cheerful submission of my will to the will of God, in the sorrow for my offences which this affliction has wrought in me, in Purposes of Amendment, and in an earnest desire of living so circumspectly in this world y^t^ in the next we may meet in joy, in the Bosome of Jesus, when we shall never part, never sorrow more. Even so, Blessed Jesus, so let it be.

"But tho' I find my Passions, *under this Affliction*, much subdued, my heart tender and capable of receiving good impressions, my soul full of Holy purposes, my Breast warm'd with charity, and a tender Love for the whole Creation of God, yet I know *that the Heart is deceitful above all things*, and therfore lest these good effects sh^d^ be too soon forgotten let me set down a few memoranda of what now passes within my breast. Let me often Remember that when I saw y^t^ Death had closed my dearest Consort's eyes, and that there was no more to be done for her eternal welfare, how many sad thoughts possess'd my heart! I then with an angry sorrow reflected how many opportunitys have I lost of doing my duty and promoting her Happyness, (for sure there are degrees of Bliss,) which had I conscientiously perform'd, w^d^

now have been matter of solid comfort to me. For tho' by the mercy of God in Jesus Christ, which is not confin'd to our imperfect endeavours and assistances, my Dear, Dear wife is, I doubt not, in Peace, having, according to the allowances made by our merciful God to Human frailty, led a Pious unblameable useful Life, yet I cannot but condemn my self for having neglected many things, w^ch^ woud have been exceeding comfortable to her when alive, and to me now she's dead; w^ch^ the gracious God forgive me.

"She needs not my sorrow now, nor my assistance, but since I am still in the body, and still subject to failings, let this consideration make me wiser for the time to come; For this will sooner or later be my own case; I must come to dye, and all the dutys of my calling, and of Christianity, that I am convinc'd of, [? and] I have left undone, will then be matter of sad reflection; I shall then wish, but in vain, y^t^ y^e^ time were to be spent again that I have lost; but time will be no more, only sorrow will be my Portion.

"I will therfore, by God's grace, do y^t^ duty in its season w^h^ He has appointed me, and whatever my hand findeth to do I will do it with all my might. For the night cometh when no man can work; and if that night takes me unawares, under w^t^ terrible concern shall I be then, under what doom shall I be afterwards?

"Grant, O God, that having these thoughts much in my heart, I may not despise the day of grace, but y^t^ I may, whenever my Lord comes, be ready to give up my acc^ts^ with Joy.

"It is with me now as it was with the sons of Jacob when they were in affliction, *We are verily guilty concerning our Brother*, &c. The many and great offences of my life appear before me in all their circumstances truly terrible; and tho' by y^e^ good grace of God, (for w^ch^ I am truly thankfull,) and thro' the merits of Jesus Christ, Who is our Advocate and the Propitiation for y^e^ sins of all true Penitents,—tho' I have confess'd and forsaken those sins, yet y^e^ Remembrance of them is truly grievous unto me.

"O that I may from this consideration stedfastly resolve to leave no sin unrepented of till y^e^ day of sorrow and sickness comes upon me; That I may not for the time to come

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do any thing w^ch^ may be an occasion of sad affliction to me at y^e^ Hour of death.

"But in the Hour of death and in the day of Judgment let this be my support and comfort; That I have Repented of all y^e^ errors of my life, *and y^t^ I have brought forth fruits meet for Repentance.* Grant this for Jesus Christ His sake, O Gracious God. Amen.

"Job xiii. 26. *Thou writest bitter things against me, and makest me to possess the iniquities of my youth.*

"Exod. xxxii. 34. *Nevertheless when I visit I will visit their sin upon them;* i. e. The sin of the Golden Calf that Aaron made.

"Numbers xxxii. 23. *Ye have sinned against the Lord, and be sure your sin will find you out.*"

Mary Wilson died in the thirty-first year of her age, and the sixth of her marriage; and was buried at Warrington, March 12, five days after her death, "with a very peculiar circumstance at the Funeral, which shewed at once the love and the justice of God." So we are told in the *Sacra Privata* as originally published under Dr. Wilson's superintendence. The MSS., as may be seen in the A.-C. ed. (Works, v. 90,) seem to refer the "peculiar circumstance" to the death rather than the burial. But probably Dr. Wilson, who was not in that place printing exactly from the MS., modified the expression according to what he had come to know of the fact. At the time, it will be remembered, he was but eighteen months old. What it might be which so touched the Bishop's tender and religious heart at the time, it were vain to conjecture: but his memoranda shew that in some at least of his other bereavements he was led to the like observations. To mourn and to regret her, besides her husband and children, she left a mother, two brothers, and a sister; with all of whom, as long as they lived, the Bishop continued on the most affectionate terms — each of whom after death he remembered with devotional thanksgiving. He remained with them now about two months longer, that is, for the Lent and Easter seasons: and perhaps (as Mary Patten had been a sort of heiress[o], and her estate was

[o] See note B at the end of the chapter.

NOTE (B), p. 224.

Genealogy of Mary Patten.

Communicated by W. Beamont, Esq., from Gregson's Fragments, 190—192. A few entries have been added, bringing down the succession to John Wilson Patten, Esq., the honoured representative of the family at present.

RICHARD PATTEN, or Patine, of Patten-house, near Chelmsford, Essex.

Richard Patten, son and heir = —— Eyre, of the county of Derby.

Richard, son and heir, lord of Dagenham, = Mary, dau. and co-heir of Ralph
of Dagenham-court and Patten-houses, Essex. | Dagenham, of Dagenham-court.

John. | Robert. | Richard, 5 Hen. III. = ——
| Daughter of ——
| John Patten = Miss Revyle of Derbyshire.
| Agnes, m. John Segar. | John Patten = Miss Poole of Derbyshire.

Daughter and heir of Oswald = John Patten, of Dagenham-court and Waynflete, *temp.* Ed. III., 1376, eldest son. | William, second son, married and had issue. | John Patten, third son.
Westingcroft, Knt., of Westingcroft, Lancashire.

Nicholas Patten of Waynflete, alias Nicholas de Waynflete.

Margery, daughter of Sir = Richard, third son, was of Waynflete, *temp.* Hen. IV. and V. | Nicholas, second son, lord of Dagenham, left issue. | John Patten of Waynflete, eldest son, died s. p. legitim.
William Brereton, of Brereton in Che-shire.

William Patten, alias Waynflete, eldest son, founder of Magdalen College, died Aug. 13, 1486. | John Patten, alias Waynflete, second son, dean of Chichester. | Richard Patten, of Baslow, in the county of Derby, third son, married, and had issue.

Richard Patten, married and had issue. | Helen, married John Robynson. | Humphrey Patten, settled at Warrington = Jane, dau. of Thomas Rixton of Great Sankey, in the county of Lancaster.
temp. Hen. VIII., and died and was buried there.

Thomas Patten of = Julian, dau. of John Marshall of Warrington | Warrington, Gent.; married in 1560.

Ellen, dau. of George = Thomas Patten of Patten-lane, Wnrrington, born 1561, died 1639. | John Patten, born 1565. | Elle. | Alice. | Elizabeth. | Dorcas. | Margaret.
Diggles, Gent.

John Patten, second son, born 1598, died 1676, was twice married, and left issue. | Alice, dau. of Thomas = Thomas Patten of Patten = Susan, dau. and heiress of Robert Drinkwater, died 1688. | Elleo. | Margaret. | Anthony, third son. | William, fourth son.
Taylor of Preston on the Hill, left issue. | lane, son and heir, born 1595, died 1663.

Thomas Patten of Patten-lane, born 1638, died 1684, buried at Warrington. He married, Dec. 4, 1660, Mary, dau. of John Leigh, Esq., of Onghtrington, Cheshire. She died April 19, 1720, and was buried at Warrington. | Susan. | Ellen. | Mary. | Bridget. | Rachel. | Elizabeth. | William. | Peter Patten, A.M., Fellow of New College, Oxford, born 1644, died 1673. | John. | Robert.

Martha, Mary, twins, died 1661. | George, born 1672, died 1729. He married, and left issue. | John, born 1664, died 1688. | Elizabeth, married John Golborne of Warrington, Gent. | Mary, born July 16, 1674, married in 1698 Thomas Wilson, Bishop of Sodor and Man. She died March 7, 1704, and was buried at Warrington, leaving one son, the Rev. Thomas Wilson, born 1703, married to Mary, only child of William Patten, and died sine prole 1795. | William Patten of London, born 1668, died 1740, buried in St. Laurence's, Old Jewry, London. He married and left issue a dau., who married Bp. Wilson's son.

Thomas Patten of Patten-lane, baptized Aug. 2, 1632, married, July 20, 1686, Margaret, dau. of John Blackburne, Esq., of Orford-hall, and died 1726, and was buried at Warrington.

Thomas Patten, of Bank-hall, born 1630; married Lettice, dau. of the Rev. James Peake; died 1772, leaving

Thomas Patten, of Bank-hall, born 1730; married Dorothea, dau. and co-heir of Peter Bold, of Bold; died 1805, leaving

1 | 2

Peter Patten, born 1765; married Mary, dau. of the Rev. J. Parker, of Astle, Cheshire: took the name of Bold, 1814, died 1819, leaving four daughters. | Thomas Patten, born 1770; married Elizabeth, dau. of Nathan Hyde, of Ardwick; took the name of Wilson 1798, in accordance with the will of the Rev. Dr. Wilson, son of the late Bishop of Sodor and Man; died 1827, leaving

John Wilson Patten, born 1802, married to Anna Maria, dau. and co-heiress of Peter Patten Bold.

2 | 1

Arthur Wilson Patten, born 1811. | Eustace John Wilson Patten, born 1836.

in strict settlement) there may have been matters to arrange which required a good deal of time. CHAP. VI.

NOTE (A), p. 196.

ABSTRACT OF THE OLD MANX CANONS.

(See Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.*, v. 253.)

I. 1229. These are the Synodal Statutes and Constitutions of the Diocese of Sodor in the Isle of Mann, there made and constituted by the Reverend Father Simon, Bishop of Sodor, in the year of our Lord one thousand two hundred and twenty-nine.

1. Not more than 32 pence to be demanded for proving a will.

2. The goods of intestates to be administered at the appointment of the Bishop or his Vicar-General.

3. Specification of mortuaries due to the Church.

4. Specification of dues to the Clerk. (The Boots or Shoes of the deceased, to the value of sixpence; the hat or cap he wore on Christmas Day; a shirt or girdle of the value of one penny; a purse and a knife, each worth a penny.)

5. Seems to relate to care to be taken by the Parson, during the winter months, (from Michaelmas or Martinmas to Easter,) of certain poultry and cattle, which during the summer were left to range on the mountains.

6. If any one die without goods, they who would have had his goods (if they be rich) are to pay the dues for his burial to the Priest and Clerk.

7. Certain payments to be made to the Church in lieu of milk.

8. How to choose and collect the tithe lambs, bullocks, pigs, and chicken.

9. Rules for mortuaries in case of one who has moved from one parish to another.

10. On taking the tithe of corn.

11. Tithe to be paid on beer brewed for sale.

12. Twopence per loom to be paid annually to the Church by those who weave for sale.

13. Dues to the collector of Tithes.

II. 1291. The Synodal Constitutions of the Church of Sodor, ordained, published, and established in a synod in the Church of Saint Braddan in Mann, the sixth of the Ides of March, in the year of our Lord one thousand two hundred and ninety-one, in which the Venerable Father, Mark Lord Bishop of Sodor, presided.

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1. That the Chaplains be prompt to visit the sick; that they reverently carry the Sacrament to them, give them wholesome admonitions, and lead them to sincere confession and repentance, and to make their wills; that they exhort them to leave something, according to their means, for the fabric of the parish church.

2. That the chaplains dress in a manner suitable to their orders, avoiding especially "mantellas," and wearing "capas clausas." Prohibited garments to be forfeited to the building or repairing fund of St. German's cathedral.

3. That all chaplains abstain from going to taverns, or having them in their houses; that they be not drunkards, luxurious, litigious, but ready in word and deed to give those under their charge examples of good life and praiseworthy conversation: That they expound to their people out of the Gospel and Holy Scripture, and also the Articles of the Faith; and carefully admonish their parishioners that they teach their children the Apostles' Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Salutation of the Blessed Virgin.

4. That the chaplains take care that no child die unbaptized; that they demand no payment for baptizing, for visiting the sick, or burying the dead; and do not convert the Chrisom to their own use.

5. No chaplain to allow in his parish another chaplain's maid-servant or concubine, or any woman living in adultery. After three warnings they must leave the place or be excommunicated, else the chaplain himself will incur that sentence.

6. Any clergyman keeping a maid-servant to be suspended till he repent and apply for penance to the Bishop. Rectors or chaplains tolerating such to be punished at the Bishop's discretion.

7. That the chaplains, deacons, and all ministers of the Altar, come to the Divine offices becomingly, devoutly, without murmuring[1], and suitably apparelled.

[1] *murmuratione*; perhaps 'without talking under voice.'

8. That all chaplains give notice of the Ember and Rogation Days, of the Vigils of the Apostles, and the usual feasts of the Saints, on the preceding Sunday.

9. That the Vicars be answerable for the care of the vestments and ornaments of the church.

10. That the chaplains admonish their female parishioners, that after childbirth they come duly to the church for their purification within a fortnight.

11. Rules respecting mortuaries.

12. On the administration of the goods of Intestates: and that executors do not take the goods of the deceased, till they have learned their last wills from the Rector or Archdeacon.

13. That Vicars be appointed for churches appropriated to religious houses.

14. That children under three years of age are not to be laid in their mother's bed.

15. Rules respecting tithes, first-fruits, and oblations.

16. Tithes of mills, fisheries, and other small tithes.

17. Young animals not to be sold before tithing.

18. When fishing has been carried on in more than one parish, the tithes to be apportioned.

19. Tithe or payment in lieu of tithe by weavers.

20. Tithes to be paid of their gains by merchants, tradesmen, workmen, and hired servants.

21. Payments in lieu of milk tithe.

22. Goldsmiths and other artificers to pay tithe of their gains, the payment to be determined by their own oath.

23. All Parishioners to offer three times a year, a penny each time, viz. at Christmas, Easter, Whitsunday, or the feast of the dedication of the Church.

24. General excommunications of certain enumerated classes of offenders to be published four times a year, viz. on the Sundays following the Ember-days, and also in the Synod.

25. No "religious person" to hear confessions, baptize, or communicate the sick without the Bishop's licence. No parish priest to go from his own church into another parish, or other place, to hear confessions, or for other religious service.

26. That no legacy be received by any one till the Church dues have been paid, on behalf of the deceased person; and that all deeds of gift be made in the face of the Church, or at least before trustworthy witnesses.

27. No marriages to be celebrated from Septuagesima to the octave of Easter; nor any contract or marriage to be celebrated without the banns being thrice duly published; that no objections be afterwards received from any one who was in the same parish, and might have known the publication of the banns.

28. That every chaplain shall put those who are contracting marriage, and three or four of the most trustworthy of their relations, on their oath that they know no impediment, whose names shall be committed to writing; and he shall likewise enquire carefully of all that are present, under pain of suspension: That no one unskilled in the law shall take cognizance of causes matri-

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monial: That the examination of all matrimonial and testamentary causes belongs to the Church.

29. That no layman or clerk bear arms or cause any disturbance in the church.

30. That no secular pleas be held in the churches or churchyards on Sundays or solemn Feast-days; That edicts of the King or Prince be published, if it be necessary, outside the church before or after Mass.

31. That any one wishing to make his will when sick *in extremis*, shall do so by his own mouth before the chaplain and two or three trustworthy men as witnesses, and the chaplain shall enquire of him as to his property and his debts; else he shall be considered intestate. And if any one in the same parish, or so near that he might have known his sickness, claiming a debt or contract with the deceased person, has not mentioned it in the presence of trustworthy men before his death, he shall not be heard afterwards.

32. None to hold communion with excommunicate persons.

33. The bells of churches to be rung when the Bishop comes to them or passes near.

34. Each chaplain to receive the Chrism, Holy Oil, and Oil for the sick once a year; and to pay four-pence each time.

35. The Archdeacons in the visitation shall see that the Canon of the Mass is correct; that the Priests know duly how to say the words of the Canon, and of the baptismal office[1], and teach the laity in what form to baptize in case of necessity: That the Archdeacon have lists of all the ornaments and utensils, vestments and books of the churches, and cause them to be presented to him every year.

[1] *Baptisterii.*

36. That no Priest celebrate Mass twice in one day, except on Easter and Christmas Days, and at funerals. And if a funeral occur on a Sunday or festival he shall not drink the ablution at the end of the first Mass, but reserve it and drink both together. That no Priest presume to serve two mother-churches; and that the Priest provide that a wax candle be burning from the beginning of Mass to the end.

III. 1350.

"These are the additions made by the venerable Father, William Russell, the Lord Bishop of Sodor, together with the whole clergy of Mann, in the year of our Lord one thousand three hundred and fifty, in the Church of St. Michael-the-Archangel, on the seventh of the Calends of March.

"It pertains to the pastoral office to employ watchful care re-

specting the state of churches and the salvation of the souls committed to a provident pastor, that when he shall give an account of the flock committed to him he may be able to bring back unfailing profit out of the talent with which he has been entrusted. That is the cause that out of those things which have been before established by the ancient Fathers, we at this present recall some to memory; a few we add to them anew, lest we seem to neglect the discipline committed to us. CHAP. VI.

"Seeing that 'the discipline of souls is the art of arts,' and it is a holy and wholesome thing to pray for the dead:—

"1. In the first place, having weighed the advice of our clergy, we have thought it right to appoint that as often as any Rector, Vicar, or Chaplain of our Church of Mann, or any other honourable person commended to our prayers, &c. shall depart this life, all the others that remain shall assemble at the day and place of his burial, and shew suitable honour to the body of the departed. And each, if they can, shall have masses celebrated. And after the day of his burial they shall have thirty masses celebrated by themselves or some other; and for thirty days the office of the dead shall be sung by each." It is enjoined on the Officials and Deans to see that this be done, and penalties are enforced for the neglect of it.

"2. *Of the Chaplains, who are bound to expound the Catholic Faith to the people.*

"We also appoint that all Rectors, Vicars, or Chaplains settled in ecclesiastical offices, on all Lord's Days and Festivals, steadily and unremittingly explain to their people the Word of God and the Catholic and Apostolic Faith, and diligently instruct those that are placed under them in the Articles of the Faith, and admonish[1] them to say the Apostles' Creed in their mother-tongue, and bring them to explain the same Faith to their Children, and to teach them the Articles.

[1] *ad informandum.*

"Likewise we appoint that the sacred rites of the Church be celebrated with due devotion, under the appointed form handed down in writing from the Holy Fathers, and that no one presume to alter this form, approved by the Catholic Faith, with any novelties. That the wine used in celebrating be not corrupted, nor turned acid, and red rather than white; (though the consecration in white wine is valid, but not so in vinegar;) and let water be added in so small a quantity that the water be absorbed by the wine, not the wine by the water: That the Host be of wheat, round, entire, and without spot, because the Lamb was without blemish and no bone of Him was broken[q]. The Host to be given to the sick to be

[q] ["os non fuit *conjunctum* ex eo:" should it not be *confractum?*]

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renewed every Sunday, and put in a becoming place, i. e. the pix appointed for this, covered with a corporal, and nowhere to be laid up without the corporal; on other days it may be renewed from necessity. And the Priest in consecrating shall direct his intention to all the hosts, not to one only. And we firmly enjoin on Priests not to intrude themselves to their damnation to consecrate the Holy Thing, so long as they are conscious that they are involved in any deadly sin.

"3. *Of the reparation of the Chancel and Nave of the Church.*

"That the parochial churches and their churchyards be built by the parishioners, according to their means, and the chancels by the rectors; and that the Altars be adorned with ornaments, books, and a light, and chalice, not of wood, glass, or brass, but of silver or gold, or, in case of urgent need, of pure tin, and with other ornaments,—and afterwards be consecrated by the Bishop. But that the church, and all the ornaments thereof, both in books, vestments, and other things needful, be carefully kept by the vicar of the church at his proper cost. The vicar to give an account to the Bishop and his ordinaries of all that is done in the church and its enclosure, and of the light appertaining to the Purification of the B. M., when the rector does not reside. And from that light the church shall be supplied in celebrating masses. And that two wax lights be made for the elevation of the Sacrament of the Altar, and an Easter candle. And if that be not sufficient, the rector shall add to it. And that no church or oratory be built in our diocese without our consent, or divine service performed in it when built, without our authority.

"4. *Of a building on the church ground.*

"That every rector of a parish church have a house built near, in which the Bishop, the Archdeacon, and their ordinaries may be received and entertained, especially in churches appropriated to houses exempt from the jurisdiction of the ordinaries. They are to be made within a year from the publication of these presents, at the expense of the rectors and vicars according to the rate of their portions. And that the rectors and vicars be compelled to this, by the sequestration of their benefices at the end of that time.

"5. *Of strange Clerks, and those who come from other places.*

"That no priest of another diocese coming to our diocese presume to keep residence, or to oblige himself to celebrate there for the living or dead, unless he has first duly presented himself to us or our ordinaries, exhibiting public instruments or proper evidence of his ordination and conversation. That they may not be ignorant of this, the vicars where they may come shall shew them this

statute. The same is ordained respecting questors[r] coming from other places. The vicars to be suspended if they neglect to shew this statute.

"That clerks, especially those in Holy Orders, except in travelling or other urgent cause, do not eat in taverns, or drink more than once, and that standing; nor take a part in public drinkings, or clubs, or other meetings for sport: else to be suspended from entering the church for three months.

"6. *Penalty for absence from church on the Lord's Day.*

"Likewise we appoint, that in every parish church it be declared to the parishioners, that a man or woman, or both, from every house come to church every Sunday to hear the divine service and the precepts of the Church, unless reasonably to be excused; this excuse they are to shew, without being asked, to the rector or his vicegerent on their first coming to the same; and nevertheless for every transgression a penalty of three shillings and fourpence be levied from every one who by thus absenting himself has withdrawn from his proper fold; as is touched on in the Council of Lyons, *De immunitate ecclesiarum,* in the chapter, *Domum tuam Domine, decet sanctitudo*[s]."

CHAPTER VII.

FROM MRS. WILSON'S DEATH TO THE PUBLICATION OF THE MANX CATECHISM, 1705—1707.

Bishop Wilson did not set foot upon the island again until May 11, 1705, when his return stands dated in *Sacra Privata,* MS. 1, "Maughold's Head: wife buryed." The last clause may express a heavy sense of her absence, not yet become a customary thing to him. The unusual landing-place would lead one to suppose that he had again encountered unfavourable weather, and was glad to get on shore where he could, and hasten to rejoin his two little ones.

[r] "Gallicé, *Quêteur*... Quæsta, mendicatio, Gall. *Quête.* Concil. Trevir. 1310, ap. Martene, Anecd. iv. 258. 'Dicunt se esse *quæstores* hospitalium &c... falso mentientes.. quorum nomine *quæstus* exercent." Ducange. Those who carry round the bags at Mass in France are said "faire la quête."

For this note the Editor is indebted to the Rev. J. Branthwaite, Principal of St. Edmund's Hall.

[s] [Harduin, Concil. vii. 716, which, however, touches the subject, if at all, very indirectly.

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And this is confirmed by the Hewetson MS:—"May y^e 11, 1705. After a voyage of 50 houres, I landed at St. Maughold. I humbly ascribe my whole preservation to Thy favour and blessing."

At some time in that year of his bereavement, his correspondence with Archdeacon Hewetson had ceased. At least Cruttwell notices that it continued until 1704:—"Mr. Wilson's good conduct, and his consequent preferment, gave very great pleasure to his friend Dr. Hewetson; who continued to correspond with him till the year 1704." Probably he means "*at least* so long," the last letters that had been found from him to the Bishop bearing that date. For Hewetson lived, I believe, five years longer. He had been collated to the Archdeaconry of Armagh, by Primate Michael Boyle, Nov. 9, 1693. In 1699 I find him named as overseer in the will of his brother Thomas Hewetson, Curate of Carbury, in Kildare, and in the following year he resigned the Archdeaconry. There is some reason to think that he retired to the neighbourhood of Carbury, where the family had property, and that he died in 1709, and was buried at Mylerstown, which seems to have been then as now attached to the Vicarage of Carbury. By the kindness of the present Vicar, the Rev. Francis Hewson, I learn that there exists "close to the walls of the old Church" at Mylerstown, "a flat stone, partly covered with earth, with an inscription very much obliterated. I was able," he adds, "by rubbing grass to it, &c., to decipher, 'Here lies the body of the learned and pious divine M...l He..o..... aged 66.' This, I take it, must be the grave of the Michael Hewitson about whom you have written." Wilson's friend was born, as appears by the record of his admission at Trinity College, in 1643: which would bring his sixty-sixth year to 1709. It is remarkable that the Bishop should not have set down in his "Diptychs" the dying day of so early and so dear a friend. But we know otherwise how he cherished Hewetson's memory: and if there be any truth in the anecdote beforementioned, of his peremptory rejection of a present from Swift, it might be partly due to an indignant recollection of the gross insults offered by that coarsest of writers to his friend and early benefactor.

The Bishop's return to Kirk Michael was further saddened by a grievous scandal which had occurred in his family. He had a servant, Robert Madrell, who had accompanied him on his former voyage to England, as appears by his signature as a witness to Mr. Nathaniel Wilson's last will. Against this man, in the Bishop's absence, but probably not without his concurrence, the Archdeacon and Vicars-General had to take proceedings. And this was the result:—

"At Ballaugh, April 2d, 1705. Forasmuch as Mr. Robert Madrell and his wife have rendered themselves obnoxious to the censure of the Ecclesiastical Court by committing fornication before marriage; and notwithstanding his having made a voluntary and public acknowledgement of his said offence before the congregation in Kirk Michael, yet considering the public scandal thereby given to the Church of God, and particularly to the family of the Rt Revd the Lord Bishop of the Island, wherein the offence was committed—wch aggravates his crime, as being committed against greater means of knowledge, and good example, than many others who have committed the like offence could have had, and thereby may give occasion to many ignorant people to plead impunity, and unjustly to reflect upon so pious and worthy a family:—The Sumner is therefore hereby ordered to charge the said Mr. Robert Madrell and his wife to make one Sunday's penance apiece in penitential habit in Kirk Michael Church."

It was of course an object with the Bishop to make it plain to all that his own household would be amenable to the same strict discipline with the rest of the diocese. Probably if the man had been servant to any one else his first voluntary penance would have been accepted as sufficient.

Suffrage for the Herring Fishery.

The Bishop's first public act which I find on record after his return, was as follows:—

"June 18, 1705. It is hereby ordered, (by the approbation of the Civil Government,) that in the publick Services of the Church, this petition be inserted in the Litany in the place and manner following, and constantly used in all the Churches within this Isle: viz. 'That it may please Thee to give and preserve to our use the kindly Fruits of the Earth, and to restore and continue to us the Blessings of the Seas, so as in due time we may enjoy them.'

"Tho. Sodor and Man."

Perhaps the Act of Uniformity, not mentioning in the body of it the Isle of Man, had not been so accepted there,

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as to take away from the Bishop the common prerogative of his order, to regulate (within certain limits) the details of Divine Service in his own diocese; as we find that in the abeyance of the Bishopric at the Restoration the Archdeacon and his commissioners made an order for adding a Commemoration of Earl James's Martyrdom to the State Services. The expression "*restore* and continue" refers to the comparative failure of the annual shoal of herrings, which had been a trouble to the Island for many seasons. Three years before this, Governor Sacheverel had written, in his Short Survey of the Island [t], "Neither in truth is there near that quantity of fish they had in former ages; for since their herring fails (of which formerly they had such quantities that 500 have been sold for a groat, and yet the fishery worth £3,000 *per annum*) all other fish declines; for the herring is the universal prey: so that this only want has reduced the country to great extremities."

Mr. Sacheverel was an admirer and friend of the Bishop, and dedicated to him that chapter especially of his work which relates to the Ecclesiastical Government of the Island, in English not unworthy of Addison, with whom also Sacheverel was intimate:—

"If by the barbarous ignorance of the eighth or the destructive knowledge of the sixteenth century, this Church has been sinking into a heap of ruins, yet as Bishop Barrow first began to support it, so it seems designed by Providence for your Lordship to rebuild and beautify, and heal the breaches of so devouring a reformation. And indeed the advances you have made in fewer months than it was ages in declining, give us a specimen of that public spirit, that vivacity of genius, which shines through all your actions, and makes us wish at least that you may be the happy instrument of completing so necessary a work. These, my Lord, are the hopes and expectations of a poor people, who are not able to tell you themselves how much they reverence your person, and I doubt they have but an ill advocate in your Lordship's most humble and obedient servant [u]."

Besides the suffrage now added to the Litany, it either was before or now came to be the custom of the island, binding on the clergy, to attend the boats of the herring fleet every

[t] p. 14, Cumming's Edition.

[u] Sacheverel's Short Survey, p. 80.

evening before they put out to sea, to pray with the fishermen, and let them start with a blessing. And the law of the island having always been strict and minute in providing that every boat pay its tithe of fish, (for the island of old time accepted the principle that one-tenth of all profits, not of the fruits of the earth only, was due to the Almighty,) Bishop Wilson carefully enforced that claim; for this reason among others, that without it they could not expect the "blessings of the sea," which they were constantly praying for.

A week after the issue of this notice, we find the Bishop at the Court of Tynwald, June 25, 1705, taking part in a statute touching a matter of great consequence to that agricultural and pastoral people—the due protection of their land from trespass by cattle, and the provision of pinfolds for impounding the cattle accordingly, to prevent "the discouragement of good husbandry, and the creating of disquietness and difference betwixt neighbours[x]."

Details of Discipline, 1705, 6.

On the morrow, the 26th, he was holding a court at Ramsey, and determining a question which had been raised concerning the validity of a bond purporting to be executed on a Sunday. It was not considered that this circumstance voided the right which a person might have to moneys specified in the bond. "We are well assured that for this court to make such a determination might be of pernicious consequence (considering the mistakes of clerks and other accidents). And therefore we leave" the party concerned "to the same justice she had before this matter was discovered."

Yet Bishop Wilson was very strict in enforcing the Sunday rest by ecclesiastical penalties.

The records tell us next of him at Castletown, decreeing for the payment of tithes in kind in cases where the prescription-money had not been duly rendered, and where the prescription consequently was forfeited. He had no scruple in this, for his mind was quite made up that all evasion of tithes is sacrilege[y]. The next year we find him pressing the same principle against himself. The register of Ballaugh

[x] Mills' Ordinances, &c., p. 478.

[y] See his History of the Isle of Man, pp. 480, 481.

CHAP. VII. contains the following note to Mr. Walker, who had not long before been presented to that rectory, perhaps upon his recommendation:—"Mr. Walker, Whatever may be said to excuse the Bishop from paying tithes out of his Turbary in your parish, I am of opinion, that since there is rent upon it to the Lord of the Isle, the words of the law require that it should pay tithe to the Church: therefore I do cheerfully suffer and order you to take the tithe of the said Turbary in kind for the future, and to place this in your Parish Book for the benefit of yourself and successors: Given under my hand and seal at Bishop's Court, Aug. 26, 1706.

"Thomas Sodor and Man[z]."

Returning to 1705, I observe that the decision just mentioned at Castletown is dated July 12: and thus through successive months we are enabled to see how punctually in his deep and recent affliction he went on with the least interesting of his duties, and those which many might suppose most properly transferable to others.

Later in the same year he had to deal with a case of such peculiar wickedness, that he thought proper to arrange for it a peculiar form of penance. Thus it stands:—

"At Bishop's Court, Nov[r]. 8, 1705. *In Nomine Dei.* Whereas W[m] Kissack of K.-Christ Lezaire, hath committed Incest and Adultery with his wife's sister's daughter, Anna Christian, to the great dishonour of God and of His holy Church, and damnation of his immortal soul, without the grace of God, upon his sincere repentance; [he] is therefore censured as followeth: To be committed a month to St. German's Prison, and before his release to give bonds to perform the ensuing censure: viz. To make one Sunday's Penance at the Church-door of every parish, and at the market-crosses of every Town within this Isle, in the habit and manner following:—

"That he be ready at the ringing of the last peal to morning prayer to begin his penance, bare-footed and bare-legged and bare-headed, covered over with a white linen sheet, and a small white wand in his hand; And so to stand during the going in and coming out of the Parishioners; and also to stand at the said market-crosses for the space of two houres on the market-days, from nine to eleven in the forenoon, with a schedule on his breast intimating his crime, which is to be read by the ministers of the respective parishes, and

[z] Stowell, 203.

to be repeated by the above offender, as followeth: 'Good Christian People, I am thus justly censured for my abominable sin of Adultery and Incest with my wife's sister's daughter, Ann Christian, whereby I am grievously fallen, and have given great offence to all good Christians here present, and to all other members of Christ's Church who shall hear thereof. And therefore I do most humbly and penitentially pray from the bottom of my heart, and upon my bended knees beseech God in His Son Christ's Name, who shed His Blood for all sinners that do truly repent and believe in Him, to forgive me all my sins, but this especially. And I earnestly desire you and the whole Church of Christ to forgive this scandal given to the Christian Religion, and that you will offer up your fervent prayers to Almighty God our merciful Father, that He would raise me up again by true repentance, and give me the assistance of His Holy Spirit, and that, if it be His blessed Will, I may be restored to a happy state of salvation, and by the indulgence of the Church be received into the communion and fellowship of its members, so that I may both in body and soul be sanctified here on earth, and with you be glorified hereafter in Heaven. And therefore, Good Christian People, I beseech you to pray with me, saying,

"'Our Father, &c.'"

In the next year, 1706, we can trace the Bishop at Ramsey and Lezaire, by offerings made to the chapel of the one, the church and chancel of the other, rebuilt or enlarged.

May 16, in the Whitsun week, according to the Canon, there was a Convocation of the Clergy at Bishop's Court, where a person of a certain standing in society, Captain John Wattleworth of Ramsey (who by his name might be supposed akin to the Archdeacon) was sentenced to three Sundays' penance in penitential habit for fornication, twice at Kirk Maughold, and once at Lezaire; the other offender being first to undergo the same. The two sentences follow each other in the Register exactly in the same form, the name only changed, as if on purpose to intimate that the Church in such a case could not acknowledge any difference between the guiltiness of the one sex and the other.

Forms for Discipline.

At this Convocation, the first apparently which he had been enabled to hold under the new constitutions, he proposed to the clergy his "Form of Receiving Penitents," such as it is now printed with the *Parochialia;* "to be duly and

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devoutly observed in all Churches and Chapels within the Diocese of Man." It is constructed, like his other Occasional Services, on the model of those in the Prayer-book, especially (perhaps) on that of the Ordination Offices; an exhortation in form of comment on portions of Scripture, certain professions to be made by the penitent himself, authoritative words of blessing having the force of absolution, and a short sermon to the audience, followed by the fifty-first Psalm and the prayers in the Commination Office. An order was made in Convocation that this form be religiously observed in the mother tongue, not to be omitted under pain of the severest ecclesiastical censures, "that the discipline of this Church may not degenerate or fall into contempt." No doubt the island had a great deal of sad and mortifying experience to prompt this caution, and shew the need of some grave and regular formulary for the transaction of so awful a matter, to protect it from the gross and rude ways of the ignorant natives, and the profaner scorn of the unbelieving colonists. The records of the island furnish many instances. And "it is further directed that the Minister and Churchwardens with some of the gravest of the Parishioners shall *bona fide* certify unto the Bishop that all this was performed after a decent and Christian manner; which certificate the person who has performed this censure shall be directed by his Pastor to bring himself within seven days, and not to send it by any other person, that he may receive the Bishop's blessing, and such spiritual counsel and advice as may tend to the good of his soul."

After this Form had been agreed upon, and the Convocation had separated, it occurred to the Bishop that "there ought to have been a prayer for persons performing penance, who are not yet to be received into the Peace of the Church." He accordingly drew up an additional prayer, which he sent to all the clergy, to be copied, and constantly used on such occasions. "I mean," he adds, "where people do penance for the great crimes of Adultery, Fornication, Perjury, or Incest. For lesser faults, I think it may be omitted." This form prescribes a previous exhortation, the wording of which it leaves to the clergy, and concludes with the same prayer as the

preceding one. The whole was, it should seem, in writing, and it may be presumed that a written translation into Manx was also provided.

The Episcopal Records bear, as will be seen, ample testimony to the wisdom and charity of that regulation in particular, which brought each penitent personally into direct communication with his Bishop.

The Form of Excommunication, with an Exhortation prefixed, which in Bishop Wilson's collected works appears before this for receiving and assisting penitents, bears no date, but may be probably assigned to this time. The Exhortation is a brief statement of the primitive doctrine of excommunication out of Scripture and the standards of the English Church, and it concludes with the following Sentence:—

"It is with great reluctancy, God is witness, and after many prayers to God for their conversion, that we proceed to this *last remedy* which Christ has appointed for the conversion of sinners.

"But we hope you are not shut out, that you may ever remain out of the Church; but that you may become sensible of your errors, and return with more zeal to your heavenly Father.

"In the mean time we must do our duty, and leave the event to God.

"In the Name of Jesus Christ, and by the authority which we have received from Him, we separate you from the Communion of the Church, which He has purchased with His blood, and which is the Society of all faithful people; and you are no longer a member of His Body, or of His Kingdom, until you be openly reconciled by penance, and received into the Church by a judge that hath authority so to do."

Then follows a form to be used "When Persons Excommunicated are received back into the Church."

"I, an unworthy Minister of Jesus Christ, by the same authority and power, even that of our Lord Jesus Christ, by which for thy obstinacy and other crimes thou hast been excluded from the Communion of Christ's Holy Church:—By the same power, I do now release thee from that bond of excommunication, according to the confession now made by

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thee before God and this Church, and do restore thee again unto the Communion of the Church of Christ; beseeching the Almighty to give thee His grace, that thou mayest continue a lively member of the same unto thy life's end; through Jesus Christ our Lord." These were the normal forms, the same always in substance, but varied from time to time according to the circumstances of each case.

June 6, the Bishop was in Court at Castletown, making peremptory orders for payment of tithes, and discussing with Governor Mawdesley the only point (so far as I can find) that ever came in dispute between them, whether the Archdeacon's Registrar should be sworn in before the temporal officers. Mr. Charles Wattleworth, who had been appointed the year before, had not been so sworn, and a fine of £5 had been laid on him. But now—

"[a]At Castle Rushen, the 6th June, 1706. Upon debate of this matter this day in Court, the Lord Bishop, Archdeacon, and other Spiritual Officers being present, and upon examination both of the Temporal and Spiritual Records, it appears that both the Bishop's and Archdeacon's Registers have usually been sworn by and before the Temporal Officers of this Isle, and that it was through inadvertence that the said Chas Wattleworth did not come to be sworn accordingly, and that he hath now in Court taken his Oath according to former usage and practice; therefore his fine is remitted."

On the other hand, it was represented to the Governor that in some instances, even in those early days of the revived discipline, the Church in the Bishop's absence had met with opposition on the part of the Government officers in the carrying out of her decrees; and this led to a corrective order, giving additional proof of his entire harmony with the Bishop:—

"Whereas complaint is made by the Right Revd Father in God, Thomas Lord Bishop of this Island, and the officers of the Spiritual Court here, that very often, when orders were issued by the Court for committing offenders, and in case of disobedience to crave the assistance of a soldier from the next garrison according to Law, the Sumner upon such application had been denyed a soldier untill he produced the Governor's Letter, and given the soldier his fee before he went from the garrison; whereby sundry inconveniencies

[a] From the Rolls Office, Exchequer Book, 1704, p. 60.

happened, and too often justice was delayed:—the Governor directs that upon application from any Sumner producing an order from the Spiritual Court, the Constable or Captain of any garrison or fort that is so applied unto shall immediately give the said Sumner the assistance of a soldier to commit such refractory offenders (without giving the said soldier a fee in hand); where the said offender or offenders are to remain until they pay off and discharge not only the Soldier's fees, but also all other fees payable by them on occasion of their commitment. And this to be a standing rule and order to be observed in these cases for the future. Robert Mawdesley."

The date of this paper is wanting in my copy: but as we know that the Bishop was at Castletown, June 6, holding a Court, and in communication with the Governor, it seems likely that he would take that opportunity of strengthening his hands in such a matter as that to which this order refers. And by that time he had had a full twelvemonth's experience and more of the results of the new Constitutions, under his own personal superintendence, which the illness of his wife had for a long time interrupted. In addition to the cases before cited, the following, found in the records of that year, may perhaps help to shew how the system was working.

June 27. A man committed for not refraining from the company of a person with whom he was suspected, petitions the Bishop for discharge. "He may be released, giving bonds to submit to the censure of the Ecclesiastical Court, and to appear the next Consistory at Kirk Michael; as also not to come into the company of his sister-in-law, except in Church or market."

July 4, in Consistory at Kirk Michael, he had to deal with what had been of old a *vexata quæstio* in the island. Some persons committed for not paying "Corse-presents," —a kind of mortuary due to the parish clergy on the death and burial of a householder,—plead that they imagined the payment was obsolete. This the Bishop over-rules, and binds them to appear, any two of them in behalf of the rest: "For that Corse-Presents are due by the law is without controversie." He means, according to a certain reduced allowance agreed upon between the clergy and the representatives of the island, 1643, under the sanction of the

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Great Earl[a]. They rejoin that the claim should have been made within a year and a day; which point is referred to the Civil Courts, an order being made to demand the payment for the future in good time. This is one among many instances of his care not to allow the Church to forego her dues.

July 27, a case of purgation occurs under somewhat peculiar circumstances. A young woman of Kirk Malew complains "of some private whisperings made by certain malicious persons tending to her dishonesty with a man of the same parish, which whisperings have been so privately carried and fomented that she cannot take hold of any person." .... Upon her earnest request she is admitted to a purgation "with the other party scandalized, at the parish church before the congregation, which the Rev[d] Mr. Woods is desired to take according to law, and .... to make publication that none upbraid them with the said scandal;" under the usual penalties. This is signed by Vicar-General Curghey, but must be understood to have the Bishop's sanction.

In the course of that and the preceding year he was also enabled to do something towards a satisfactory settlement of Bishop Barrow's Academic Fund. That fund arose out of a surplus which remained in the hands of Bishop Barrow after his redemption of the impropriate tithes from Lord Derby in 1666. The money had somehow accumulated, so that when Bishop Wilson took the matter in hand there was more than £1,200 to dispose of: and on April 9, 1705, he had obtained from the trustees, Mr. Legh of Lyme, and Mr. Cholmondeley of Vale Royal, an order to invest £650 on good security in Ireland, for the Academic Master, (described in the first appointment as Public Reader of Logic, Philosophy, and History within the Isle and Dominion of Man); £250 for a grammar-school in the town of Douglas; and with the remainder to liquidate certain outstanding claims. The name of Mr. Thomas Patten, the Bishop's brother-in-law, appears as a witness on this paper, and perhaps the business may have been one cause of his lingering in England as he did after the death of his wife. On the

[a] Mills, p. 102.

20th of January following, the Bishop being apparently at Castletown, and having filled up the vacancy in the Academic Mastership by the appointment of Mr. William Ross, proceeded to nominate trustees for managing the endowment of the Douglas chaplaincy and schools; whose names I add, that it may be known in whom he placed especial confidence: they were John Stephenson of Balladoole, Ewan Christian of Lezayre [? Lewaigue], John Murray and Philip Moore of Douglas, merchants; with the chaplain for the time being, and the vicar of Braddan. But he reserved the appointment of chaplain to himself and his successors [b].

He set on foot about the same time a project for founding a Public Library at Castletown, and Governor Mawdesley, on May 23, 1706, granted him for that purpose "a piece of waste ground near the house of Arthur Halsall, porter, ... provided the Great Enquest of this Sheading do first view the same, and see that it be no way prejudicial to any high way or watercourse." Afterwards, Jan. 3, 170$\frac{7}{7}$, the Bishop, "in consideration of twenty pounds to him assured by the 24 Keys of this Isle, consented and agreed for himself and his successors" that there should be "rooms under the said library set apart solely for the use of the 24 Keys, to be the place of their sitting and meeting for ever." The building has decayed, the books have been removed and since destroyed by fire, the Keys have migrated into some part of Rushen Castle; but the record of the Bishop's forethought and liberality remains.

The Bishop, it seems, had come to Castle Rushen to debate with the Governor, Council, and Keys, about the reimbursement due to Mr. Christian of Lewaigue and the other commissioners, who had represented the tenants in drawing up the Act of Settlement. Mr. Christian produced his bill of disbursements, Dec. 31, 1706, and the amount, £160, was ordered to be raised by assessment on the tenants.

The authorities being thus assembled, mention was made of "the obstruction and delays that had often happened in the public business, for want of a convenient house or certain place to assemble in, when they are ordered to meet at Castletown; ... having no place at present but our Honourable

[b] Manx Charities, pp. 1, 26, 27, 112.

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Lord's castle or houses, which is equally inconvenient to his Lordship as to the said body of the 24 Keys." For procuring such a place they vote the £20 which was afterwards assigned to the Bishop: together with £10 for the aisles of St. John's Chapel. But in consideration of "the poverty and mean circumstances of the people," which had hindered them as yet from paying up the Lord's fines, the assessment was deferred for nearly three years, until Nov. 24, 1709, and the proclamation of the act on the Tynwald Hill did not take place until February, 170$\frac{8}{10}$. Bishop Wilson's name appears among the parties to this document [c].

The Bishop again in England.

Feb. 25, 170$\frac{8}{7}$, he embarked on his fifth voyage to England: most likely at Derbyhaven, since he landed at Beaumaris. The causes and objects of this move, coming so quickly upon his former long absence from his flock, can, however, be conjectured with tolerable certainty. His entries in the list of "Passages by Sea" are "Beaumorris with my daughter," &c. And again, "I landed at Beaumorris and went to Warrington." The special mention of his elder child, now in her eighth year, would lead one to think that she had already shewn symptoms of ill-health, and he might wish her in England, under that care which would be most like her mother's, for a while: he himself meantime having quite enough to employ him there.

Leaving his children with their mother's family at Warrington, he proceeded first to London—where he was preaching March 26, at St. Dunstan's in the West; then to Oxford, to receive the honorary degree of D.D., a compliment which after falling into disuse, has of late years been revived in favour of the Colonial Bishops. It was conferred, he notices, "in full Convocation;" and he clearly thought a good deal of it, inserting it prominently in his list of "special favours," together with a mention of the same compliment paid him very soon after at Cambridge. He appears to have felt that such honours are serious things, by no means to be passed over as matters of course, but entailing real responsibilities. He dates his Oxford degree *March* 3, 1707, apparently deviating in this instance from his own and his contemporaries'

[c] Manx Charities, pp. 138, 139; Mills, pp. 183—185.

usual reckoning as to the commencement of the year, but in reality writing "March" for "April." For the Convocation Register, which at that period dates uniformly according to the old computation, records it as conferred "*April* 3, 1707, *honoris gratia*." The Vice-Chancellor was Dr. William Lancaster, Provost of Queen's. He was accounted one of the High Church party, and was afterwards bail for Dr. Sacheverel. To his munificence and devotion that College owes most of its buildings: indeed he is said to have refused bishopries on the plea that he must stay there and finish his work. The Public Orator, who presented Bishop Wilson, was William Wyatt, also "a stout High Churchman." The Regius Professorship of Divinity was then vacant.

Perhaps the company into which our Bishop was thrown, both then and at other times during his visits to England, may in some degree account for his being calumniated as a Jacobite.

His heart was very full of the great plans for Church work then coming more and more into notice, chiefly through friends of his own,—Dr. Bray, Robert Nelson, and the rest: and it is plain by memoranda on the back of the MSS. from which his Sermons were printed, that his gifts as a preacher, now beginning to draw notice, were freely exerted in their behalf during the seven months of that sojourn, which lasted from February to September. One sermon in particular—the earliest in date that I have seen of his—(for it was first preached in Castletown, 1698, and may have been the first which he preached in the island)—he delivered this year in England to no fewer than six several audiences. First, in March or April, at St. Alban's, Wood-street, Cheapside; then, April 29, (or 27th? for that was a Sunday,) in York Cathedral; May 20, at Neston, (where of course he would be visiting his mother); June 17 and 24, at Latham and Warrington; and July 7th at Liverpool. That sermon, numbered now 45, and headed "The Danger of Living in any Known Sin," is a descant on St. Paul's declaration of God's dealings with those who care not to retain Him in their knowledge[d], and so admirably suited for a preacher when his special work is to *awaken;* as in addressing a new audience, or initiating a revival among those who have grown languid.

[d] Rom. i. 28.

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The second delivery of this sermon in England took place, as we have seen, at York. It is interesting to think of Bishop Wilson preaching on such a subject in Archbishop Sharp's cathedral, of which also his dear friend Finch was Dean. The Archbishop, himself one of the greatest preachers of the age, would in all probability be there, for the Parliament after passing the Act of Union had been prorogued on the 24th, and on the 21st the Archbishop had had his usual parting interview with the Queen, (who trusted him almost as a director,) and had offered for the second time in that year, and that on his knees, to resign his Almoner's place[d]. By the 27th doubtless he was (where he longed always to be) in his diocese: and Bishop Wilson would be a most welcome visitor to one who used to watch with peculiar care the work of preaching in his cathedral, and had set up a Friday Evening Lecture in All Saints' Church,—

"that he might exercise and know the talents of the city clergy, and those of the neighbouring parishes[e]. He entered himself into the combination, and took his turn among them. This lecture was opened in 1693, the second year of his residence in the diocese, and was kept up with a large resort, chiefly of the clergy in and about York, till the year 1707. During which whole time he attended almost constantly while he resided in the country, and brought thither preachers at length from all parts of his diocese."

Seldom have a Metropolitan and a Suffragan sympathized more entirely; and meeting so rarely as they did, and at such a critical time for the Church, any discussions they had we may be sure were not only cordial, but deep and fruitful.

In the following week, May 4, the Bishop of Man had to preach in London again, at St. Lawrence Jewry. It was a charity sermon, and evidently composed for the occasion. In it he pleads especially for the poor schools, noticing in a pointed way some attack which had been made upon them:—

"*For this good work I am now an advocate*[f]; a work which will prosper as long as God has mercies in store for this nation, notwithstanding the evil report which Satan and his instruments have endeavoured to fix upon it. We need make no apology for calling those the instruments of Satan who have set themselves to *speak*

[d] Life of Sharp, i. 329. [e] Ibid. 141, 142. [f] Serm. 78, Works, iii. 313.

and *write against the Charity Schools*, because they are the very people who have always set themselves to speak contemptibly of the *Word and Ordinances of God*, to confound men's notions of *good* and *evil*, to make these the fancies of men, rather than the consequence of eternal reason and truth. CHAP. VII.

"But what is it that has provoked all this zeal against these *Schools*, and those that endeavour to support them? Why, they are afraid that if the children of the poor are to have an orderly and Christian education, they shall want *beasts of burthen*, (for such, by their way of arguing, they esteem them) *to do their drudgery;* that is, provided the rich can have the bodies and labour of the poor at their service, it is no matter what becomes of their souls."

This passage obviously refers to the diabolical theory (I know not how else to describe it) which Mandeville in his Fable of the Bees had about that time begun to develope with wonderful impudence and sophistry, but in a sort of downright English which would recommend it to many:— the sum of it being, that man being naturally "but a compound of various passions, that as they are provoked and come uppermost, govern him by turns whether he will or no," moral virtue and self-control is the invention of "lawgivers and other wise men," playing off the passions of the vulgar one against another, the result whereof is, civilized society, and the worldly greatness of nations: which cannot be without great drudgery in the mass of society, great luxury and self-indulgence in the rest. It follows undeniably that charity schools, even for mere reading, (for so far he carries it,) are bad economy and contrary to the public good. And he sets himself to write them down and scorn their supporters with a bitterness only intelligible in an aggrieved atheist: aggrieved especially by "an unreasonable vein of petty reverence for the Poor, that runs through most multitudes, and more particularly in this nation; and arises from a mixture of pity, folly, and superstition." It is curious to see the "economy" of that age setting itself against popular education altogether, as the "liberality" of this does against religious education [g].

In London, Bishop Wilson at that time had at least two special objects to attend to. The first will be explained by His plan for a Mission College.

[g] Fable of the Bees, i. 25, 28, 357, ed. 1723.

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the following memorial addressed to the Society for Propagating the Gospel, and bearing date May 12, 1707 [h]:—

"*The Bishop of Man's Proposal for Propagating the Gospel, &c.*

"The Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts having met with difficulties in procuring proper persons to undertake that good work, the Bishop of Man desires that it may be considered of, whether the Isle of Man would not be the properest place wherein to educate, and out of which to make choice of, the persons for that mission.

"The advantages that place seems to offer above others are these. 1. The youth [? young] people of the island are under a pretty strict discipline: they are not acquainted with many of the vices of other nations, so that it is probable that a person who has lived soberly till he comes to an age which may qualify him for the mission would continue to be an honour to his profession to his lives end.

"2. The inhabitants in general are brought up frugally, and the preferments for scholars at home are so small, that the provision for the clergy in America would be sufficient to excite their industry, and to satisfy their utmost ambition.

"3. The natives of the island being all well acquainted with the seas, such as should be sent would make no difficulty of undertaking such a voyage.

"4. They would be educated under the eye of the Bishop, who could not but know their true character, and a way [might?] be proposed that the Society may never be imposed on by partial testimonials.

"5. There is already an Academical School, founded by the late Bishop Barrow, and a Master with a competent salary, obliged to teach to youths Logic, Moral Philosophy, and Ecclesiastical History. These are educated for the service of the Church of Man.

"Now if it should be thought convenient that four more be added to these for the service of the Church in America, and some small allowance made to the Academic Master, and to the scholars for their present subsistence, care might be taken to make choice, out of all the schools in the island, [of] such as would in all likelihood be most serviceable to the Church, and who would be bred in a constant expectation of being sent abroad, and in such studies as might best qualify them for the mission.

"It is supposed that £50 per annum would be sufficient to encourage the Academic Master to teach, and four persons to prose-

[h] See their Minutes, Appendix 99.

cute their studies, viz. £10 a-year to each, at least until a trial were made whether this method would be of real service to the design of the Society.

"Security might be taken from the friends of the four persons to return what money they should have received, if any of them should refuse to go upon the mission when directed by the Society.

"*May* 12, 1707. THO. SODOR AND MAN."

On June 20, the minute of the Society is, "The Lord Bishop of Man proposed the third time, and after balloting, approved:" I presume, as an incorporated member. His proposal appears to have been laid by for three years.

The expression "under the eye of the Bishop" no doubt refers in part to his custom of receiving into his own house all his candidates for Holy Orders for at least a year before the time of ordination. "From the time they first disclosed their intention of devoting themselves to the service of the sanctuary, he formed a connection with them somewhat similar to that subsisting between Eli and Samuel. He watched over their conduct, he guided their studies, and directed their pursuits. For a year before their entrance on the holy ministry, he took them to reside in his family. . . . He took particular pains to bring the young students to an accurate and distinct knowledge of the Greek Testament. They every day read a portion of it to him, and heard his remarks[i]." Occasionally he would appoint one of his young students to perform the service of the day in his chapel at their household prayers: so "forming them," says Cruttwell, "for the pulpit, and a graceful delivery." If he began this custom, as is most probable, as soon as he commenced residing regularly in Bishop's Court, 1699, one of his first inmates would be William Walker, and the intimate knowledge which he so obtained of him would account for his recommending him, so early as 1704, to the important Rectory of Ballaugh[k]. And seeing the good effects of this arrangement, and having come, as we shall presently see, to a deep conviction of the importance of the missionary movement in the Church of England, originated only a few years before by his friend Dr. Bray and others, his practical spirit, fertile

[i] Stowell, p. 132.

[k] This date I make out from the Bishop's own epitaph on Walker in Ballaugh churchyard, ap. Stowell, 418. 'Hujus Eccl. Rector per annos xxv., Ob. A.D. MDCCXXIX."

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in expedients, led him to combine the two as in the plan above detailed. Had he been acting with men as far-sighted as himself, St. Augustine's at Canterbury, and our recent Theological Colleges, might have been happily anticipated in the Isle of Man a century and a half ago.

It should seem that Bishop's Court as a place of theological instruction was open to others besides candidates for Ordination on the spot. No less a person than Henry Dodwell sent one of his sons to be educated in the island; and the anecdote which informs us of this[1], shews also incidentally how high the Bishop's character stood already among all sorts of people. When Dodwell ceased to be a nonjuror, and submitted himself to Bishop Burnet, (for he was living at Shottisbrooke, near Reading, and Berkshire was then in the diocese of Salisbury), Burnet was a little affronted at something about Latitudinarians in the letter of submission; in which also Dodwell had asked him to admit his elder children to Confirmation. Burnet wrote "a bitter and angry reply:" but "Dodwell had but a year to live, and was weary of controversy and quarrel. He replied in a mild and apologetic letter;" one sentence in which is, "Nor will it perhaps be displeasing to acquaint you that the young gentleman who gave occasion for it is one who never had any other education than what he had in the Isle of Man, the rather because it makes so highly for the commendation of your brother the Bishop of that island, who has much improved them." "This soft answer," adds Mr. Secretan, "turned away Burnet's wrath."

Three days from the date of Bishop Wilson's memorial he was admitted, May 15, to be a member of the sister Society, for Promoting Christian Knowledge. It seems remarkable that he should not have been so long before, seeing that it was established, mainly through Dr. Bray, as early as 1698. However, this also he has recorded among the especial favours for which he was bound to thank God all his life long.

His Manx Catechism.

In a fortnight more, he was enabled to accomplish the second great object of this visit to London—a work which

[1] See Mr. Secretan's Life of Robert Nelson, p. 76.

lay still nearer his heart, as being more essentially necessary to his island diocese. Thus he enters it also as a "special favour:"—"I finished and printed my Manx Catechism, May 30, 1707." That is, having completed his preparation, he sent it to the press on that day: and most likely at the same time offered it up by the following short prayer in *Sacra Privata*[m], over against which in the margin stands the number 1707:—

"Bless all my labours for the good of my flock, and especially *That Instruction* which by Thy gracious favour and assistance I have provided for them."

The title-page informs us that it was printed in London by Benjamin Motte. It is a small octavo, in columns, in Manx and English; and being, as he states in his Preface, the first book ever printed in Manx, must have required superintendence unusually exact, which could not be well transferred to another; and this may have been one reason of his remaining so long away from his diocese. He had planned the work, as we have seen, in the first year of his episcopate, and had been no doubt assiduous in selecting proper helpers, and keeping them up to their work: having in view to employ them, or the most competent of them, in due time, on a far greater undertaking—a translation of the whole Scriptures. Nor can I doubt that Mr. Walker, who in 1704 had been made Rector of Ballaugh, and thereby settled as his next neighbour, was his principal fellow-worker in the Catechism, as he afterwards was in the commencement of the Manx Bible.

It is a question of some interest how far Bishop Wilson was himself competent, from knowledge of Manx, to judge of the correctness of the version. It seems clear from tradition that he never attained to such a mastery of the language as to preach in it or to converse at all like a native. The old man near Bishop's Court, some of whose statements I before referred to, said broadly, "The Bishop did not understand Manx, but was very desirous of having the people taught in it." On the other hand, it is unquestionable that both he and his successor Hildesley took delight in using the

[m] iii. 17.

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language in some part of the Communion Office,—I believe in the Commandments; Hildesley also (it is said) in Confirmation, and both, in benediction, in church and out of church; which latter was much valued and commonly sought in the island, especially from Bishop Wilson. "The kneeling for a blessing is very customary amongst relations in the Isle of Man when they meet, and the benediction pronounced generally is *Dy Cannee Jee oo*, 'God bless you.' It is also usual with the islanders, upon meeting their diocesan, to kneel down on one knee, and ask his blessing[n]." No wonder that "when the congregation were dismissed from Kirk Michael Church, after Divine Service, they were accustomed to range themselves in two rows along the road leading to the church, and to leave a space for the Bishop to pass between them, while they remained with their hats off, and in a kneeling posture, till they received his blessing; and then they retired satisfied to their homes[o]."

In the neighbourhood of Ballaugh lingers still a curious anecdote, which was thus related to the writer by the old man twice before mentioned, after he had spoken of the folk standing on each side for the Bishop's blessing as he went into church. "Once, when Ballaugh Church, the steeple of it, was building, there was a mason up there, the only man in the island to do such work,—a man from London, named Loony, who went by the name of Loony Môr, (i. e. Loony the Great,) because he was so tall. He seeing the Bishop about to ride by, and being anxious for his blessing, but not able to get down in time, made a sign, and fell on his knees on the scaffolding, and the Bishop seeing him, let drop the reins, lifted up his hands, and blessed him where he was." Ballaugh steeple was a joint work of the Bishop and the Rector, Mr. Walker; as appears by the following entry in his list of public works[p]:—"*Ballaugh Church, June* 19, 1717. I then laid y^e^ Foundation of an addition of 7 y^ds^ to this Ch., w^ch^ being much too little for y^e^ Parishioners, the worthy Rector and I engaged to finish it, y^e^ Parish furnishing £12: w^ch^ we have done, and built a

[n] Butler, Life of Hildesley, p. 98.

[o] Stowell, 217: from "a person who distinctly recollects this venerable man."

[p] MS. iii. 55.

new steeple at our own expence." The man was therefore at the time working for the Bishop, and, Englishman as he was, had caught the feeling of the neighbourhood. In his case the blessing might be in English, but commonly, no doubt, it was uttered in Manx.

In short, the Bishop, Mr. Stowell informs us, took considerable pains to acquire the language, and although he never preached[q] in it, "he is said in the latter part of his life to have spoken and read it without much hesitation, and to have taken pleasure in addressing the peasantry in the usual Manx phrases of salutation." His occasional quotations imply as much as this. And so with his general habits of good scholarship he may have been fairly able to do his part as an overseer of the version of his own work. Of course he must have had some thorough Manxman with him to correct the press, (as was the case after his time, when the Bible came out in Manx,) and none so likely as Mr. Walker.

The Bishop speaks familiarly of the book as his "Manx Catechism:" but its full title is, "The Principles and Duties of Christianity: being a further instruction for such as have learned the Church Catechism, for the use of the Diocese of Man. In English and Manks. Together with short Directions and Prayers for Particular Persons, Families, The Lord's Day; For the Lord's Supper, The Time of Sickness, &c. By Thomas, Lord Bishop of Sodore and Man." It is a small octavo, the Catechism occupying 136 pages besides the Preface; the Directions and Prayers twenty, the two Prefaces five each: being addressed the one to the clergy, the other to all the inhabitants of the island. The substance of the book is well known, it having been many times reprinted here by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, and used somewhat largely by catechumens in English dioceses; and also as having been made the basis of the "Instruction for the Indians." Though it is in question and answer, it is simply an instruction, not, as the term 'Catechism' suggests, an examination of those who have been instructed: the questions being all along put by the learner,

[q] So I am informed by the Rev. W. Gill, Vicar of Kirk Malew, and a near relation of Mr. Stowell.

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the answers by the teacher, after the manner of Hammond's 'Practical Catechism.' In his Prefatory Address to the Clergy he first reminds them, that in the Convocation of 1703-4, the third Canon being under discussion, (which enforces on those about to marry the duty of preparing themselves for Holy Communion,) he had engaged himself to complete this Catechetical work, as being necessary to assist the Clergy in making that order effectual. He describes it as "A Plain Instruction in the Principles and Duties of Christianity, suited as near as possibly I could to the capacities and circumstances of the souls committed to our care: together with private and family prayers, very much wanted in this diocese." And he proceeds to enforce on them the best ways of employing the book to its intended purpose, in public catechizing and in private distribution. Every Sunday afternoon, after catechizing, (now strictly enforced by the Manx law,) one section of the work was to be read in church. No one to have the book given him without some explanation of the use of it, and a promise from himself to read the Instructions and use the Devotions. Then in few words, but with a wide reach of wisdom and charity, to which no abstract can do justice, he presses on them special reasons why much might be expected from *them, at that time* in particular: from *them*, because they had no controversies to distract them; and *at that time*, because of the movement which was going on in England; "God having stirred up the spirit of many," so that "great and good men had formed Societies," and that with "a visible Blessing and Success." So deep was Bishop Wilson's sense of the importance of the efforts which marked the opening of the despised eighteenth century, for the Propagation of the Gospel, the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, and the Reformation of Manners. "Dispensations," he calls them, "under which to be unconcerned would be a sin." He speaks of the work as "published," but it has only the printer's name.

In the present edition of his Works, this tract has been corrected from a copy of this first issue, interleaved, and evidently in course of preparation for reprinting, with copious notes in his own handwriting, but in a much later phase of it; which notes have been inserted as they occur in a smaller

type under the head of "Memoranda[r]." There are no MS. notes on the Manx portion; which seems to confirm the idea of his imperfect knowledge of the language.

The undertaking must have been very expensive, for he furnished copies seemingly for distribution to every one of his clergy, carrying them over with him when he returned home in the autumn. For this and other kindred purposes he gathered what he could during his stay in England. So deeply did he feel that charitable help, that he has registered some principal contributions at least among the special favours for which he was perpetually to give thanks to God: —"Lord Viscount Weymouth sent me 20^{lb} for Bibles, &c., May 27, 1707. Lady Westmorland 10^{lb}. Mr. Hoar made me a present of books for my Diocese, May 16."

Yet one more English engagement occurs before he set his face homeward. "June 11," he writes, "the University of Cambridge honoured me wth my degree of D^{r} in Divinity. Dr. James," Regius Professor of Divinity, "presented me to Dr. Balderson, Vice-Chancellor[s]."

During the Bishop's absence we have no record of anything of consequence in the Spiritual Courts of the island, excepting perhaps the effectual suppression, by means of the Discipline, of a slander which had become current against an Irish peer, Lord Kingston, then residing in Castletown. The story dated from St. John's-day in the preceding year, but Lord Kingston had to wait many months before he could formally vindicate himself: one of those who could best refute the charge (which fortunately gave details of time and place) having gone into Ireland. By the 2nd of August, when as it appears the Vicar-General Curghy held a Court in Castletown, this man had returned, and proved upon oath, from his own personal knowledge, the falsehood of the specific charge; his Lordship himself being also admitted to purgation, and his household confirming his defence by such evidence as the following.

"Capt^{n} Patrick Gelling, Steward to the Hon^{ble} the Lord Kingston for some years, hath taken his corporal oath upon the Holy Evan-

[r] One omission may be worth rectifying here: the fly-leaf at the beginning of the volume has, "Vid. Wensley's Sermon upon our Ch. Catechism; &c. p. 75. 'Of Education of Children —*Confirmation.*'"

[s] MS. iii. 59.

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gelists, That all the time that he hath been in his Lordship's service he has always seen him very observant of the duties of Christian Religion, constantly joining in his family in prayer and family duties, and very frequently examining and catechizing them. And whenever his occasions led his Lordship abroad or from his own house, [he] left special charge with this deponent to keep good order in his family, and to have prayers in his house. But as for anything that might give the least occasion of scandal, (particularly in relation to women,) this deponent, who was a constant attendant in the house, deposeth that he never saw anything offered by his Lordship but was innocent and harmless.

"Alice Joyner, a servant for three years with his Lordship, being ready to pass out of the island, sworn: deposeth as the above deponent in every particular.

"The above depositions taken by me, JOHN CURGHY."

Most who have had experience in parochial life must have wished from time to time for some such process as this, to stay the mischief of evil-speaking, and of uncharitable surmises propagated at random in their neighbourhood.

Bishop Wilson returned to his diocese Sept. 19, landing at Derbyhaven, after a voyage of but twenty hours. One of his first cares on landing seems to have been disposing of the "good books" which he brought with him from England: an abundant store, no doubt, of his own Manx Catechism, of which on the 6th of November he delivered a copy to each of his clergy for the several parochial libraries, as also of four other religious books; "Nelson on the Feasts and Fasts of the Church of England;" Mr. Allen (of Bridgwater) his "Discourse on the Two Covenants;" a "Collection of Psalms," by Dr. Bray; and a "Discourse on Angels," by Mr. Camfield. Judging by a catalogue of the Jurby Library in the hand of Mr. John Christian, then minister, and bearing date 1708, these five would form a fair sample of the whole collection; which indeed at that time amounted only to twenty-five volumes, besides three English Bibles. Of course there is no knowing how many of these might have been incidental and casual gifts; but if we take them as Bishop Wilson's own choice, (they cannot have had less than his toleration,) the list would not lead to the idea that he was "a bigotted High Churchman," but rather that he

was fairly willing to let his people look at the different aspects in which truths, and religious truths especially, are sure to present themselves to different minds. It is sad to think how nearly these libraries, first in time of Wilson's good works in the island, and very much thought of by him, appear now to have vanished from it.

NOTE.

The following is the most complete account which the Registry affords of the contents of the Manx Church Libraries, down to 1725, as laid before the Convocation of that year; with a few particulars added from former reports:—

"*A Catalogue of the Books for the Parochial Libraries of this Island.*

"1699.

1. A Course of Lectures upon the Church Catechism, vol. 1. Folio. Given by Dr. Bray.
2. The Measures of Christian Obedience. By him.
3. The Practical Believer. By him.
4. The Christian Sacrifice. By him.
5. The Pastoral Care. By the Author.
6. The Life of Sir Hen. Wotton, Dr. Donne, &c.
7. A Practical Discourse concerning Swearing. By the Author.
8. The Christian Monitor, &c.
9. The Poor Man's Help.
10. A Brief Exposition of the Church Catechism, by the Bp. of Chichester. By the Author.

1703.

11. An Account of the Societies for Reformation of Manners in England and Ireland. By the Society.

1704.

12. The Country Parson, by Mr. Herbert. Given by Mr. Wm. Patten, of London.
13. Two Select Discourses: Of Faith, by Wm. Allen; and The Practical Believer, by Mr. Kettlewell. Folio. By Dr. Bray.
14. Catechetical Lectures, &c., Edit. 3. Fol. Stitched. By him.

1705.

15. Mr. Bonnell's Life. By his pious Relict.
16. Mr. Cradock's Knowledge and Practice.
17. Bishop Hopkins' Works. By Mr. Hoare.
18. Bishop Pearson on the Creed. By him, [viz. by Mr. Hoare].

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"1707, *Nov.* 6.

19. The Manks Catechism. By the Author.

20. Mr. Nelson's Feasts and Fasts. By the Author.

21. Mr. Camfield, Of Angels.

22. A Catalogue of books, stitch'd in blue paper.

23. A Collection of Psalms out of the New Version. By Dr. Bray.

24. Of the 2 Covenants, Stitch'd, by Wm. Allen. By Dr. Bray.

25. A Help to a National Reformation, 8°. Stitch'd, in marble paper.

26. The Baptismal Covenant abridg'd, 8°. Edit. By Dr. Bray.

1714. *Whitsun Thursday.*

27. Dr. Sherlock's Practical Christian, Ed. 6. 8°. By the Rt. Rev. the Lord Bishop of this Isle. J. Woods, Reg. Ep.

19. May, 1725."

Thursday in Whitsun Week, May 20, 1725.

Added to the Parochial Libraries by Dr. Bray.

1. A Set of Mr. Blair's Sermons, in five volumes, for every Parish-Church in the Island, and for the Libraries of Castletown and Douglas.

2. A Set or Collection of Tracts ag^{t} Popery, as above said.

3. Papal Tyranny, without the Latine Letters, as above said.

*4. Two of Bibliotheca Parochialis, for the 2 Libraries.

*5. Dr. Hen. Moore's English Works, Folio, for the Libraries, 2 copies.

*6. Papal Tyranny, with the Latine Letters. 2 copies for the Libraries.

N.B. Allen's Discourse on Faith, we had before. Enchiridion Precum, and Arndthius de Vero Christianismo, are not yet come to hand."

The books marked * (being mostly of a more learned or controversial cast) were presented to the *Clerical* Libraries only of Douglas and Castletown.

CHAPTER VIII.

DISCIPLINARY WORK. VOYAGE TO ENGLAND ABOUT THE CUSTOMS. 1707—1711.

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THE winter of 170$\frac{7}{8}$ appears to have been to Bishop Wilson a very uneventful one. The earliest entry of 1708 that I have to record comes as late as Trinity Sunday, May 30, on which day he held an ordination for one candidate only, Wm. Ross, Master of the Academical Institution at Castletown: a person whom he highly, and as it seems deservedly, trusted. He was then admitted to the diaconate.

July 8, there was a Convocation at Kirk Michael, after two years' interval. The record of its proceedings is torn out of the Convocation Book: but we know by a memorandum in the Archdeacon's Register that "an order was then made for the religious observance of Holydays."

The Bishop had also to deal with gross irregularity arising from neglect (to give the most favourable account of it) on the part of one of his clergy.

"Complaint being made to us," he says, "that Mr. Samuel Robinson, Vicar of Kirk Arbory, has married one Thomas Steich (who it is probable has a wife in S. Wales) to one Sarah Rose, both of another parish, and that clandestinely: upon examination it did not only appear that he was guilty of the said irregularity, but also that he was lately very much disordered with drink, as is proved by the depositions of several of the parishioners; and all this, notwithstanding frequent admonitions we have given him before some of his brethren the Clergy, as also by letters:—It also appearing that he has arbitrarily repelled one Wm. Taylor of his parish from the Sacrament, without any just cause, and without giving notice to us within 14 days afterwards, according to the rubric before the Communion:—with other irregularities and omissions of his duty, to the great dishonour of the Sacred Function, and the scandal of religion:—We do therefore, by the authority committed to us by Jesus Christ, and by the Canons of the Church, suspend him, the said Mr. Robinson, *ab Officio et Beneficio in Triennium*, in hopes that this censure may bring him to see his errors and amend his ways, which, we pray, God grant.

"But forasmuch as we find, by former proceedings in our re-

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cords, that he has been twice before suspended by our predecessors in this diocese, for several gross crimes and irregularities, and yet no sensible reformation has followed: We do further declare, that if the said Mr. Robinson do not within the space of three years next ensuing, (during which time he is now suspended,) bring us a certificate from the neighbouring clergy and the greater part of the parishioners, that these censures have by the grace of God brought him to himself, and wrought a becoming reformation upon him,—that we will proceed to deprive, degrade, and excommunicate him."

The sentence then proceeds to make provision for the church services, through the clergy of the adjoining parishes, during the sequestration. Mr. Robinson however in little more than a month made such a petition as satisfied the Bishop, and obtained remission of the whole remainder of his sentence,—"upon consideration of his humble submission, signs of penitence already given, and solemn promises for the future; as also with regard to the representations of two worthy gentlemen of his parish." It seems likely that such sentences were the harder to carry out from the great lack of clergy in the island. In this case the remission would carry no scandal with it, being asked for by the principal parishioners. And it was accompanied by a solemn prayer, that God would "pardon his errors, and give success to his labours." He dates from Bishop's Court, Aug. 18, 1708.

At the same Convocation with this Robinson the clergyman, another of the same name and parish incurred sentence for defamation: a sentence worth inserting, were it only to shew how tender this Spiritual Court shewed itself of the character of the temporal officers, and of the respect due to them:—

"Whereas John Robinson of Kirk Arbory, without any regard to the respect due to magistrates and persons in authority, has presumed falsely and audaciously to say, That Mr. Deemster Parr was a Church Robber, which scandalous words tend very much to his defamation; It is hereby ordered, that the said John Robinson shall be immediately committed to St. German's Prison, there to continue till he give in sufficient security to do three Sundays' Penance after a very solemn and humble manner: viz. one in Kirk Arbory, one in Kirk Christ Rushen, and one in Kirk Malew;

and in each Church humbly ask forgiveness of the said Deemster Parr, and lay his finger on his mouth, saying, 'Tongue, thou hast lied;' and all along so demean himself as becomes a true Penitent, and to behave himself for the future respectfully towards the said Deemster; And all this under penalty of forfeiting the bond to be given before his enlargement. — THO. SODOR AND MAN, with his Archdeacon and Vicars-General."

Aug. 15 following, this censure brought its submission in the quaint traditional form enjoined by the sentence, which in the insular tongue may possibly sound less strange than in English: Mr. Parr being present in Kirk Arbory to receive the man's confession, (which was also read to the congregation in Manx,) and remitting the two other days of penance.

It may be a question whether there was not more of real civilization in a state of society which provided for such acknowledgment and redress of evil-speaking, than in the licence of which other times and countries have boasted themselves.

Death of the Bishop's Mother.

Aug. 16, Bishop Wilson writes, "My dear mother died, aged 84,"—his principal remaining link with the times, places, and persons which had prepared him to be what he was. She was buried in Burton Church by her husband, Aug. 19, three days only after her death, which took place, the Register says, at "Lettelnesson." This may be suspected to be the parish clerk's way of writing "Little Neston[t]," which is a district of Neston parish, three or four miles from Burton, and to which Mrs. Nathanael Wilson may have retired some time after the death of her husband; possibly to be nearer her youngest daughter, Mary, who having lost her first husband, Daniel Littler of Park-gate, had intermarried a second time, Oct. 4, 1698[u], with a Mr. John Falkener of London, Mariner. They resided afterwards in Leighton or Park-gate, as appears by the Neston Register, and had a son and daughter: the latter certainly survived them, as did also John Littler, the son of Mary Wilson by her former marriage. There is some appearance also of the Bishop's brother Joseph, under whose protection especially his mother seems to have been left, removing for a time to

[t] Commonly pronounced 'Nesson,' at present. [u] From the Chester Registry.

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Little Neston, marrying and having children there: though he certainly was buried in Burton. Either way the Bishop would have the comfort of knowing that his mother, whom he remembered with such tender anxiety, was where she would wish to be, and had her children about her in her declining years, and the prospect of sharing her husband's grave.

The weather during the harvest season of that year was very ungenial, and we find that in the course of 1709 Acts of Parliament were passed for prohibiting the exportation of corn, and for regulating the price and assize of bread[v]. The alarm continued for at least two seasons, and now at the commencement of it Bishop Wilson issued "A Form of Prayer to be used in all Churches and Chapels (and recommended to the Clergy to be used in private) until it shall please God to send us more seasonable weather." He accompanied it with the following circular:—

"*Bishop's Court, Sept.* 16, 1708.

"Since it has pleased God to visit us with an immoderate rain, which may too likely be attended with *sickness* and *scarcity of bread* unless God in mercy hinder it; it is our duty to put our people in mind of this, and to desire them to join heartily with us in prayer to God, that He may be merciful unto us, and forgive us our sins; That He may turn away His anger from us, and give us such a blessed change of weather, that we may save the fruits of the ground which His good Providence has made it bring forth; and that we may continue in health and strength and safety.

"Which things I do earnestly desire you to recommend to your congregation more fully, and to use the following Form of Prayer as appointed.

"*To be used in the Litany immediately after the Prayer,*
'*We humbly beseech Thee.*'

"Almighty God and most merciful Father, we confess that for our many and grievous sins, and especially for our great abuse of Thy blessings, Thou mightest most justly punish us with the continuance of unseasonable and unwholesome weather, and thereby bring upon us diseases, famine, and death.

"But we most humbly beseech Thee, O Lord, to make us truly sensible of our former errors, and sorry for them; to make us sen-

[v] Salmon's Chronology, pp. 296, 297, 301, 302.

sible of our dependance upon Thee, and rightly to understand Thy dealings with us; That we repenting of our sins may obtain Thy gracious pardon, and the mercies we now pray for. CHAP. VIII.

"O God, whose goodness has made the earth to bring forth her fruits in due season, graciously give us such temperate weather, as that we may save and receive them to our comfort; That we may rejoyce in Thy goodness, and serve Thee with cheerful minds and healthfull bodies, and that we may never for the time to come so far presume upon Thy mercy as to forget Thy judgments. Grant these things for Jesus Christ's sake. Amen."

Consecration of Douglas Chapel.

In the following month a work was completed which he had been long preparing for the benefit of the town of Douglas, which besides being the commercial capital of the island, had come already to be the largest portion of Kirk Braddan, the most populous of the island benefices. The deed of consecration recites the distance of Douglas—more than a mile—from the parish church; the building and fitting up of the new chapel by the offerings of devout persons in the town and elsewhere; the engagement of the townsmen to provide for necessary repairs; and the appropriation by the trustees of the academic school of £300 towards an endowment for the chapelry, and of a grammar-school to be annexed to it. It reserves also to the Bishop, as patron of the mother church, the right of nominating to the chaplaincy. The consecration took place on St. Matthew's day, in honour of whom the chapel is named; and the Bishop preached on the words, "In all places where I record My Name I will come unto thee, and bless thee[w]." Judging by the tone of his sermon—remarkable for carefulness and beauty as a composition—the day seems to have been welcomed among the people as a day of peculiar joyfulness. However insignificant the appearance of the building at present, in these days of improved Church architecture, and however uninviting the situation, in a crowded nook by a busy quay and market, not remarkable for quiet or cleanliness, we may easily imagine it to have been just what was wanted at the time, the Church brought home to the doors of a busy, rude, and partly uncivilized but not yet unbelieving population,

[w] Sermon 92, Works, A.C.L. Ed., vol. iii. p. 454.

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and recommended to them by that which has been from the beginning a great object with the Manx as with other branches of the Celtic race—a school of a superior order connected with the chapel. Probably at that time the population of Douglas, though rapidly increasing, did not exceed 600; and St. Matthew's chapel, since enlarged, would contain at least 150; so that according to a not uncommon calculation, it might suffice, with its frequent services, for the existing needs of the place.

In justice to the Bishop as a church builder, I am bound to insert the remark of Mr. Neale, that St. Matthew's in Douglas, in common with all the churches of Bishop Wilson's building, is built on the model of the old Manx churches, with chancel and nave (without any architectural division) and western campanile. "He quite caught the old spirit of Manx churches,—a very easy one to catch, certainly, but still he was faithful to the type, and preserved it, in all instances, so far as I am aware, under other details[x]."

The Bishop's own memorandum about this consecration is, "*Douglas Chapel, Sept.* 21, 1708. I consecrated this chapel, having contributed 10lb. towards ye building, and begg'd from Ld D. and others 60lb more[y]."

Sermon on Discipline at Lezayre.

The approach of the following Lent is signalized by two of his great pastoral acts. First; a person of some account, Mr. William Christian, of Ellenbane in the parish of Kirk Christ Lezayre, had to be received into the Church on Sexagesima Sunday, Feb. 27, 170$\frac{8}{9}$, after undergoing public penance: and the Bishop made it an occasion for setting forth, in his own straightforward and touching way, the principle of Church censures as received in the island, and the duties of those concerned in them. The sermon, numbered 93, is singular among those of his which remain, in its direct expression of the preacher's own personal emotion. Starting from the case of Achan, thus he pours himself out:—

"*My son*, saith Joshua, the prince and leader of a people in Israel; *My son!*—to a man who for his sin had deserved and was immediately put to death. And shall not we, with the same tenderness, and with greater if possible, receive the confession of one

[x] Ecclesiological Notes, pp. 4, 9, 18, 34.

[y] MS. S. P. No. 3.

of our fellow Christians, who professeth, and we hope sincerely, to turn from his evil ways?

"What passions other men have upon such occasions I cannot tell; but for myself, I profess, so many mortifying and sorrowful thoughts come into my mind at such times as these, that those who undergo the shame of *public penance* scarce suffer more than I do, who have inflicted it. . . . Such a sorrowful occasion as this even forces one to remember every man his own failings, which have been enough to have provoked God to have given the very best of us up to our own heart's lusts, but that God is very gracious and merciful."

We are reminded here of the testimony borne to the Bishop long afterwards, at his funeral:—

"When he was obliged by duty and conscience to exercise the discipline of the Church against an offender, it was in such a manner that, as God says of Himself, it was his 'strange work'—it was a force on the humanity and tenderness of his heart—a work that he undertook with reluctance and with regret. I have often seen him more afflicted for and affected with the faults and miscarriages of an offender, than the offender himself: mingling his prayers and tears with his admonitions and intreaties[z]."

The censure in this case appears to have been for intemperance, and the sermon indicates how common that sin was; as indeed from Bishop Barrow downwards it has been always sorely complained of in the island:—

"Will people never take warning by the misfortunes of others to prevent their own? . . . How many souls have we not reason to fear have been lost, by people's giving themselves up to voluptuousness! . . . I am persuaded that company-keeping and tippling is the very beginning of most men's misfortunes. . . . I dare appeal to all that hear me, let them but call themselves to account, and they will find that drinking and intemperance have led them into the greatest crimes they have fallen into. . . . A person that has any fear of God . . . after he has . . obtained absolution from the priest, the minister of Christ . . . will avoid all temptations to impiety, *and especially drunkenness*, which makes way for all manner of villainies."

He gives intimation of the several ways, which the records so often exemplify, of evading the discipline:—

"Those who find ways to escape the censures of the Church by

[z] Moore's Funeral Sermon, Works, by Cruttwell, ii. 636.

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leaving their place of abode or their country, or prevailing with officers whose duty it is to present them to pass them by, or by any other way, . . . are exposed to the wrath of God."

He encourages voluntary submission, yet with earnest notice of the great danger of a person's deceiving others and himself by false appearances of it.

On the whole, his topics and way of treating them are such that the sermon might be easily developed into a complete manual of discipline.

Pastoral prefixed to *Parochialia.*

Again, March 3, being the Friday before Ash-Wednesday, about the time when the Courts of Correction were held, he addressed that model of Pastoral Letters (so to call it) to the clergy of his diocese, which has been prefixed to his *Parochialia,* I believe ever since the first publication of that work[a]. I call it a model, by reason of the completeness and simplicity with which it disposes of the two points immediately in view, furnishing the clergy, first, with appropriate heads of self-examination; secondly, with brief yet ample directions how to prepare their flocks for Easter; wherein he particularly dwells upon the need of visiting from house to house, and of private conference, until one is able to give some account of each individual.

The next year, 1709, seems to have gone on in the same even course. A Convocation was held, May 15, as appears incidentally by a decree of the Bishop's, disallowing a claim of certain tenants on his demesne to be exempt from paying dues to the Rector of Ballaugh, within which parish they were locally situate. But the leaf belonging to it in the register is missing. The disciplinary causes are few and unimportant, with the exception of two or three which (among other things) may serve to exemplify the relations of the civil to the ecclesiastical functionaries at the time. On Easter Tuesday, Apr. 25, Mr. Walker of Ballaugh wrote thus to him[b]:—

"Right Reverend Father in God,—

"Finding myself oblig'd by the 26th canon of our church, and by the rubric before the communion service, as well as by a late

[a] See Cruttwell's Ed., 4to. i. 395.

[b] See Archdeacons' Presentments, 1708-9, in the Registry.

constitution of the church of Man, not to admit to the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, persons guilty of any notorious sin; I do humbly signify to your Lordship that on Easter Sunday last, I repell'd from the Lord's Table John Cottiman and Katherine Cannel, for fornication, on common fame.

"And I further presume to acquaint your Lordship that the said John Cottiman behaved himself very insolently and irreverently in the House of God, when commanded to withdraw from the rest of the congregation, refusing at first to go forth at all, and then saying he would go when he thought proper himself, with other words to that purpose, which tended much to the disturbance of the communicants, and to bring contempt upon the Sacred Ordinance then in administring; All which in order to the discharge of my pastoral duty, is faithfully represented by

"My Lord,

"Your Lordship's most obedient Son and Servant,

"Wm. Walker."

This produced, three days after, an order to the Sumner of Ballaugh:—

"For this man's insolent and irreverent behaviour in the House of God, and for his undutifulness to his Pastour, you are to commit him to St. German's prison during three days, and until he give bonds publickly, and in penitential manner, to confess his fault, and to ask forgiveness of God, of his Pastour, and of the whole congregation, for the unchristian disturbance he gave at so solemn a time, and until he pay your fees. And in case of disobedience you are to demand the assistance of a soldier:

"Given under my hand this 28th of April, 1709,

"Tho. Sodor and Man."

Again, Nov. 24, the Bishop certified to the civil government that "Patrick Crellin of Kirk German having relapsed twice into adultery, notwithstanding his solemn performance of the censure inflicted on him for his late crime of that nature, we have this day denounced him . . excommunicate; which we think requisite your worship should be informed of, because he is an officer at present under our right honourable Lord, viz. Coroner of Glenfaba Sheading." This was a serious step, touching, though somewhat indirectly, on the vexed question which afterwards brought so much trouble on the Bishop,—whether the Lord's retainers were legally exempt from such penalties,—and affecting moreover a person in no

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mean place: for a coroner in Man nearly corresponds to a sheriff in this country. Moreover, the notice is addressed not to the Governor, Mawdesley, the Bishop's friend, (who seems to have been a good deal absent from the island in that year,) but to his deputy, Mr. John Rowe, then and for many years Comptroller, or Clerk of the Rolls, who afterwards shewed himself little disposed to shew favour to the spiritual power. Yet we hear nothing of any demur or remonstrance.

In a third instance, (the Bishop however not being present,) the Archdeacon and Vicar-General commit one James Griffin of Kirk Andreas for a fortnight, he being a relapsed adulterer: but inasmuch as he has no sense of his sin, and they see no probability of making him aware of its heinousness, they

"intreat the Temporal Government to order the Coroner of the Ayre Sheading to receive him from the Constable of Peel Castle, and to chastise him *by whipping* in some of the market-towns of this island; there being no other method to deter him from the commission of the said sins hereafter, and to prevent the Ecclesiastical censures being brought into contempt by his scandalous behaviour in the performance of them."

Whether this was acted on does not appear.

Earlier in the same year the Bishop had been in communication with the same Mr. Rowe, then also it seems acting as Deputy Governor, on a judicial question [c].

"An action relating to Hango-hill estate (Mr. Lace plaintiff, and the Trustees of the Academic School defendants) having passed the course of the Court of Common Law, Mr. Lace appealed from the judgment unto the Lord; on which the Lord sends certain queries to the Governor and Council to be resolved. The Governor, Bishop, and Council, however, were trustees; and the Bishop, on being required by the Governor to assist in Council, (according to custom,) upon these queries, he gave his answer in writing as follows:—

"'Mr. Deputy,—I am of opinion that we, of my Lord's Council, cannot regularly take upon us to answer these queries, for three reasons:—1st. Because we are all trustees, and consequently parties in this cause. 2nd. Because our most ancient and received

[c] Feltham, Tour in the Isle of Man, 1798, pp. 110, 111; from the Bishop's own hand-writing; communicated by Mr. Crellin, then Deemster of the northern district. Mr. Feltham is struck with the Bishop's scrupulousness in thus declining to be judge in his own cause.

laws do expressly provide, that when a doubt or question shall arise touching the sense of any statute or custom, the two Deemsters and 24 Keys shall expound the same, which, as I am informed, has been already done, and in a judicial way, with respect to the two statutes mentioned in the first of these queries. 3rd. For that a precedent of this kind may be of evil consequence, because a majority of the Council being generally strangers, and for some time at least unacquainted with the laws and customs of this isle, if the Lord should ground a judgment upon the answer of such a majority, he might unavoidably be led into an error in point of law or justice. Lastly, Because that in this as well as in most governments, such as are appointed to expound the laws, or to administer justice, are under an oath to do this faithfully. Now I do not understand that we are under any such oath or charge; therefore it is neither proper nor safe for us to undertake it.

"'I pray that these reasons may be accepted, at least for my particular declining this affair; they are such as oblige me in point of conscience, and I hope will justify me to our honourable Lord; who I do presume, would not have put this cause upon this issue, had his Honour been thoroughly acquainted with the constitution and laws of this government.

"'*Aug.* 25, 1709. (Signed) T. S. M.'"

The year 1710 opens with the completion of the clerical and academical library at Castletown, an object very interesting to the Bishop, as his memorandum shews:— "April 2[d]. New Library at Castletown finished. It cost 83[lb] 5. 6. Subscription, 14[lb] 6. 3."

The Convocation of the following Whitsuntide was an important one. First, it was found necessary to enforce the canons concerning marriage, and the precedent set in the case of Mr. Robinson of Kirk Arbory some two years before, by the following episcopal announcement:—

"My Brethren,

"The Acts of Convocation lately passed to prevent clandestine marriages, as well as the marriages of such persons as have not been instructed in the principles of Christianity, in order to fit them for Confirmation and the Lord's Supper, being of great consequence to the honour of God and the good of souls, to be most exactly observed, I find my self obliged to declare, That if any

[d] That is, on Palm Sunday. We may understand that having just received the account, he enters it as a hint for special thanksgiving; in which sense, no doubt, all these entries are to be taken.

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person shall hereafter wilfully neglect or break these constitutions, by marrying any couple without a licence first published some Sunday before the said marriage shall be solemnized, or without banns called according to the rubrick; or if any person shall grant a lycence without a certificate from the rector or vicar of the parish where the persons inhabit, importing that such persons intending to intermarry have been confirm'd and received the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper (according to the true intent of the aforesaid Acts), or if any person shall presume to marry those of another parish without his brother's knowledge, and leave,—That the person so offending shall be suspended *ab officio et Beneficio* for one whole year, without any respect to any person under my Jurisdiction. "Tho. Sodor and Man."

In the preceding November another of those canons had been enforced in a manner which now seems very old-fashioned:—

"1709. 1 Novr. Certain young persons to be forthwith committed into St. German's prison, there to remain until they give bond to come constantly to church every Lord's Day evening to be instructed in the principles of the Christian religion."

Then we find the Bishop and clergy uniting to stir up the Parochial Courts of the four towns to more vigilance in repressing drunkenness and blasphemy:—

"Whereas it is observed, and lamented by sober persons, that the sins of drunkenness, swearing, and cursing, have of late much prevailed in the market towns of this island, to the great scandal of Christianity; It is therefore decreed, that the Churchwardens and Chapter-quest shall take particular notice of those who are guilty of these sins, and shall present their names to the Court, whether they be strangers or inhabitants of the place; that such may be censured, and reclaimed if possible; at least, that their ill example may not infect the neighbourhood. And this to be published in the church or chapell of each town, the next Lord's Day after this comes to the vicar's or chaplain's hands."

Condition of Peel Cathedral.

Doubtless the Bishop would also take this opportunity for bringing before his clergy the condition of the cathedral and its neighbouring parishes of St. German and St. Patrick, and would confer with them on the plan which within a fortnight he communicated to the parties principally concerned, and for which by the end of the month he had obtained an

Act of Tynwald. The following extracts from a paper recited in that Act give the history of what was done [e]:—

"June 13, 1710. The Bishop of this Isle laying it seriously to heart of what evil consequence it has been that the inhabitants of the parish of St. Patrick have for some ages past been destitute of publick worship within the parish, is resolved, God willing, to promote the building of a new parish church, provided he finds the parishioners ready to put to their helping hand after such way as shall not be too great a burthen to them."

Then it is declared that Captain Silvester Radcliffe and his family have offered land for the church, churchyard, vicar's house and garden; and that several of the chief of the parish have declared themselves ready to contribute. Then he stipulates that the parishioners shall assess themselves for labour and certain materials, each to find his own seat as approved by the Ordinary :—

"Which if they shall chearfully undertake, the Bishop engageth, First, out of his own proper bounty, and out of some other moneys and effects designed for pious uses of which he has the disposal, to cause to be built within eighteen months, the Lord prospering his endeavours, a decent and sufficient church and chancel, paying all workmen, and finding timber and other materials; Secondly, to obtain an Act of Tynwald for separating St. Patrick from St. German's, and for exempting the new district from all charges in the old one. Also to assist in providing for the service of the new church until the district can have a resident vicar; the people on their part to give their helping hand as aforesaid towards building a vicarage house."

All this on the ensuing feast of St. John Baptist became the law of the island, and was carried out.

But the concluding words of the Act are very significant, and somewhat mortifying :—

"[f] *Memorandum.* That the effects mentioned in this Act to be in the Lord Bishop's hands, and at his disposing, is a Parcel of Sheet Lead in the Cathedral at Peele; and his Lordship having acquainted this Court therewith, they are of opinion that the said effects cannot be better applied than to such pious uses."

This is, in effect, the Bishop and the whole diocese passing sentence on their cathedral, and agreeing to despair of its restoration. I do not indeed suppose that to any one of

[e] Mills, 189—191.

[f] Ibid., 192.

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them it seemed other than a matter of course,—an arrangement in which the circumstances left them no alternative. The ancient feeling about beauty in church building had long since died away in Man as well as elsewhere, and Bishop Wilson, as we have seen, had grown up untouched by it. Even in the days of Earl Charles and Bishop Barrow the most that seems to have been thought of was making the poor parishioners of Kirk German do their part towards some necessary repairs, to stay the ruin for the present. On the decease of Bishop Bridgman, 1683, Earl William directed a valuation of the dilapidations of the chancel, which it seems the Bishop was confessedly bound to keep in repair: and a small sum was paid and probably expended. But three years after, when Bishop Levinz was called upon for further repairs, (only however amounting to £43 19s. 10d.,) Lord Derby (by what right does not appear) excused him from that duty, on the ground "that the same would be altogether ineffectual, while the body of the said Church did lye open and uncovered, which would make the said Chancell obnoxious to the weather, and endanger the same to be blown about with every tempest. And I myself," his Lordship adds, "being upon the place in summer last, and seeing the said inconveniency, I have thought it therefore more expedient for the present, and I do accordingly direct and order"—not, as one might have hoped, that a survey and estimate should be made, with a view to the Earl's undertaking the work himself, but—"that the said sum should remain in the hands of the Bishop, until it shall please God to raise up some good instruments and benefactors to contribute towards the repairing of the whole church . . . or until some good law be made in the said island for the demolishing of the said cathedral and the repairing and enlarging St. Peter's Chapel at Peel towne with the materials thereof:" which latter alternative, he says, "is heartily desired[g]." In one sense, therefore, Bishop Wilson was but carrying out the wish of his patron; it can hardly be called his *design*, since he shewed no willingness to be at any pains or expense for accomplishing it. One cannot but

[g] For the papers containing these facts and for other valuable help the compiler is indebted to R. J. Moore, Esq., High Bailiff of Peel.

regret that he so entirely gave up the cathedral. His burying his little daughter there seems to indicate that he was not always so minded. But had he set his heart upon it ever so much, a real restoration of it in that generation was entirely out of the question. Had it been attempted, we can easily guess what would have been the result, architecturally speaking. Much better to have it left as it is, for the chance of its becoming again what its founders intended, and that, we may reasonably hope, at no distant day.

Journey to England about the Customs.

The Bishop's public spirit took him again into England in the course of that year. The mischief done by the contraband trade carried on from the island to the revenues of Great Britain was making itself felt more and more; and as early as 1707, one of the proposals in Parliament connected with the Scottish Union—so Mr. Train asserts [h]—was "to assimilate the fiscal laws of the Isle of Man with those of Great Britain." This of course caused great alarm in the island, and to avert it, they were willing to listen to suggestions from England for the real suppression of that illicit trade; although it may be apprehended there was hardly a household among them, rich or poor, but was profiting by it; the Lord of the Isle by no means excepted. But there was a condition which they wished to annex to this sacrifice—the same which they had petitioned for in 1703; that is, free trade with Great Britain; or, as they themselves express it, "The Government of this Island are willing, as much as in them lies, to hinder and prevent the frauds" complained of, "in hopes that her Majesty and the Parliament of Great Britain will, in consideration of the poverty of this island, allow importation duty-free of the cattle, and other products and manufacture of the island[i]." To effect this it was judged necessary that a delegacy should go over and confer with the Commissioners of the Customs in England, who should lay their proposals before the Treasury. The Bishop, his friend Mr. Ewan Christian, and Mr. Seddon, then Water Bailiff and Attorney General, consented to act on that commission: and the matter was deemed so urgent, (probably because Parliament had been summoned for Nov. 25, and

[h] ii. 308.

[i] Mills, 195.

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the time was no more than sufficient for securing the attention and obtaining the assent of the persons on whom the affair would depend,) that the Bishop, alive as he always shewed himself to the perils of the sea, actually started in a fisher's open boat, and crossed by night. Thus he records it:—"Aug. 1, 1710. After 9 Houres in a Fishing Boat in the night I landed with Mr. Murray in ye Hills of Ard, within 3 miles of Kilcudbright[j]." Mr. Murray's name has already occurred,—a merchant of Douglas, in whom the Bishop had most entire confidence. Kirkcudbright, at least the country around it, was constantly in sight from his own demesne in clear weather, lying about 24 miles from the northern point of the island, and it cannot be less from the coast near to Bishop's Court. It was the nearest convenient point of Scotland: and they went round by Scotland (so Cruttwell says) "to avoid quarantine, for which there was not the least occasion[k]." An additional motive may have been to obtain more exact information concerning the amount and circumstances of the contraband trade, which was particularly active between Galloway and Man. Cruttwell adds that the Earl of Galloway of that time was an acquaintance of the Bishop's, and that whereas he had intended at first to take the nearest road from Kirkcudbright to England, the Earl prevailed on him "to visit Edinburgh, where he was treated with particular kindness and respect. It is related that he was met on the borders by a vast concourse of people, who accompanied him to the metropolis. Several of the Scotch clergy waited on him, and shewed him every mark of respectful attention. . . On his return from Edinburgh, a great number of the nobility, gentry, and clergy accompanied him almost as far as Carlisle[l]."

[j] MS. iii. 57.

[k] Life, 4to. p. cxxviii. The account, he adds, came from a Mrs. Smith, Mr. Murray's daughter. There had been a plague in Dantzic in 1709, and in the following year a great plague swept away many people in Sweden. So that in November, 1710, (three months *after* Bishop Wilson's voyage,) there was an order in Council for ships from the Baltic to perform quarantine, and there was legislation on the subject in the next session of parliament. Burnet, Own Times, ii. 534, 557; Salmon's Chronology, 305, 309.

[l] I give this passage as I find it: a little suspecting, however, that Mr. Cruttwell's informant may have somewhat exaggerated in speaking of "a *vast* concourse," "a *great* number," &c. And it is hard to know what could be meant by "*the borders*" between Kirkcudbright and Edinburgh. A few weeks before, Dr. Sacheverell had been undergoing the like process in Wales.

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His preaching in England.

At any rate, his single-hearted care of his diocese, and his qualities as a preacher, had ere this made him well known in England, his custom there being always to preach where he was staying, if it were but for the day, and so to leave a memorial behind him wherever he went. And not in the Isle of Man only, but "in Warrington, nay, in London," says Cruttwell, writing in 1780, "there are those now living who can remember crowds of people flocking round him with the cry of 'Bless me too, my Lord.'"

Having ordered his journey so as to spend (if the calculation be right) Sunday, Aug, 6, at Carlisle, he preached there on that day. It was the very sermon of which he had made so much use on his preceding visit to England, and he repeated it the next day in Manchester: as he did in no less than three London churches, before returning to the island. The Bishop of Carlisle at that time was William Nicholson, the correspondent of Thoresby of Leeds, and himself a distinguished antiquary. Thoresby, as will be explained by-and-by, was a friend and family connexion of the Wilsons.

We may now trace Bishop Wilson by the indorsements on his sermons, first to his own old neighbourhood, and then to London. He was preaching at Warrington Oct. 1; at Winwick Oct. 29, Nov. 19, and on Christmas Day; during which time he was doubtless engaged with the Earl, assisted by such men as Murray and Wilson's own brother-in-law, Thomas Patten, in preparing, on behalf of the island, terms to be submitted to the Treasury. As Lent approached he drew towards London, and on Feb. 4 (Sexagesima) he was again occupying the familiar pulpit of St. Lawrence Jewry. From that time forwards until the middle of June we have records of his preaching fifteen charity sermons, and we know besides that there were others unrecorded. All of them, but one at Chelsea and one at St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, were preached in the City; and indeed we may remark, *honoris causa*, that London properly so called was eminently the cradle and nurse of that timely movement of which it is hardly too much to say that it was God's good instrument to save the Reformed Church from dying out like a lamp that is not fed.

Cruttwell says of this and of his other sojournings in

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London, "He was generally solicited to preach for some one or other of the public charities, being much followed and admired. And many who heard him have remarked the great beauty of his prayer before the sermon, particularly where he offers up prayers for those who never pray for themselves[m]," namely, "that they may see, before it is too late, the danger of living without God in the world." It was his own private and family prayer every night of his life, and doubtless he had a way of his own in saying it, which unconsciously told even strangers in some measure what he was in his home and alone with his God.

We are able to identify a few other of his sermons as having been preached during this half-year in England. One is the 44th, "On the Duty of Instructing the Ignorant," addressed in 1710 to the societies for the education of poor children, at St. Lawrence Jewry, and repeated in 1711 at St. Dunstan's-in-the-East. For the good Bishop, as the entries on his remaining MS. sermons shew, made no scruple at all of reiterating the same lesson in the same words, though it might be to the same audience, after no long space of time: following the well-known recommendation of Bishop Sanderson, who in this, as in delivering written sermons, may be said to have set the pattern to the generation to which Wilson belonged.

The sermon on the education of girls, numbered 79 in his collected works, is there stated to have been preached this same year, Sept. 28, 1711, at St. Peter's, Cornhill: but this date is erroneous, the Bishop having left London in July: and the MS. says *April* 28: or perhaps 29, (which was a Sunday,) Wilson's figures not being always plain. He had preached, April 15, for a school at St. George's, Queen's Square, of which his friend Nathanael Marshal was minister; and Mr. Nelson on the following Thursday reported to the Christian Knowledge Society that the two sermons of that day had obtained a gathering of £50 0s. 8d.: the other preacher being the Master of the Temple, afterwards Bishop Sherlock, also connected with the Wilsons.

Sermon before the Queen.

One other sermon known to belong to this time has peculiar interest, as having been preached before the Queen at

[m] Works, A.-C. Ed., p. 3.

St. James', on Holy Thursday, May 13, 1711. It is numbered 72 in his collected works: the text being, "Where your treasure is, there will your heart be also." In it we may notice his significant, yet most calm and dutiful way of shewing how the thought of Christ on His throne should regulate the ways of kings; the noble picture which he draws of the joys of His invisible kingdom; the searching comparison between the ways of this world and those of the next. It is noticeable also that in passing he distinctly sanctions the application of the prophetic Scriptures on Antichrist to the Church of Rome.

No doubt he preached on that day by the Queen's special command; and by the same command the sermon was immediately published, being his first regular publication, if, as may appear, the Manx Catechism had been only printed. According to a constant tradition, the Queen treated him with peculiar kindliness, calling him "the silver-tongued Bishop," and offering him an English see; but he begged to be excused, saying, "that with the blessing of God he could do some good in the little spot that he then resided on; whereas if he were removed into a larger sphere he might be lost, and forget his duty to his flock and to his God[n]." It is probable that Archbishop Sharp, his metropolitan, who was in London in the spring at least of that year, was the person who introduced him to the Queen; and it is well known that Sharp had been all along her main adviser in Church appointments.

End of his Missionary Scheme.

Bishop Wilson did not overlook the opportunity which his residence in London gave him to renew his proposal for training missionaries who should serve under the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, as the following entries from the Society's Journal shew; and they imply also, I think, that Sharp was co-operating with him:—"8th Feb. 1710-11. Present, Archbishop of York; Lord Bishop of the Isle of Man. . . Bishop of Sodor and Man sworn into the office of Vice-President for the present year." Again:—"March 22. The Bishop of Man's proposal for education of missionaries considered. Archbishop (Tenison's) opinion that Codrington

[n] Cruttwell.

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College may supply the want of missionaries in other parts, and that the proposal of the Bishop of Man may drain the Society's stock too much. Agreed that the said proposal be recommitted, and thanks to the Bishop of Man for it."

Finally:—"20th April, 1711. The Secretary reported from the Committee that having reconsidered the Bishop of Man's proposals, they report their opinion that there does not appear any material objection against putting the said proposals in execution, save only the lowness of the Society's funds. Conclusion deferred until after the collection intended to be made under the Queen's authority in London and Westminster in aid of the Society." And so the plan fell to the ground, chiefly, it would seem, through Tenison's timidity and inadequate appreciation of Wilson as an instrument for the work.

The Society's Reports of the time make very favourable mention of the project:—

"1710. They received from the Rt. Rev. the Bishop of Man some useful and well contrived proposals relating to the matter of education, and did agree that they were of great importance, and worthy to be further considered. And after some deliberation the Society returned their thanks to the Bishop for the good service he proposed to do by educating young persons within the Isle of Man in order to be sent abroad for the propagation of the Gospel." And $17\frac{11}{12}$:—"To render this branch of the Society's work, which relates to the education of catechumens and the supply of missionaries, more effectual, it has been promised in former accounts that the worthy Col. Heathcote's proposal of easy ways for maintaining Charity Schools in America by an allowance of £5 or £6 a-year to each, with the important offer of the Bishop of Man for setting on foot a sort of perpetual Seminary for Catechists and Missionaries within that island, and the noble bequest of Gen. Codrington for effecting the like purposes within the island of Barbadoes, should be respectively confirmed, when the Society shall be in [? better] circumstances; and it is hoped by all good Christians that the happy crisis is not far off[o]."

The Bishop with S.P.C.K.

The minutes moreover of the sister Society, for Promoting Christian Knowledge, shew, sometimes very charac-

[o] For this communication I am indebted partly to the Rev. E. C. Woollcombe, Fellow of Balliol College, Oxford, partly to the Rev. F. C. Massingberd.

teristically, the interest he continued to take in it. In 1707, May 8, this entry occurs:—"The Bishop of Man, a correspondent, related that he knows that the correspondence of this Society has had a very great and good effect upon divers persons, who have thereby been induced to look more narrowly into themselves, and to demean themselves with greater caution upon all occasions." And now, in 1710, the first place where we hear of him on revisiting the metropolis is the Board-room of that Society:—"1710. Thursday, 1 Feb. Present, Lord Bishop of Man ... and Mr. Nelson."

In the following month the Board was moved to consider "what might properly be done by them towards recommending Christian authors" (such as Prudentius, Erasmus, &c.) "to be used in Grammar Schools." On March 29 this subject was resumed, and it was moved that "a collection be made of hints which have been suggested to the Society" on this subject—which "being done with a discreet caution, and dispersed among the correspondents, might at least prepare the world" for such a thing. This is referred to the Standing Committee. Opposite to this reference in the Society's minute-book is inserted, in a hand which can be no other than that of "Thomas Sodor and Man," the following sentence:—"Unus scrupulus habet animum meum, ne sub obtentu priscæ literaturæ paganismus erigat caput suum? *Erasmus.*" The passage is quoted in *Sacra Privata*[p], which makes it the more probable that the Bishop was adopting it as expressing his own opinion: it however amounts to little more than a serious caution.

A committee appears to have been formed, and a list prepared and adopted by the Society, but there the matter ended.

Act of Tynwald regarding the Customs.

Meantime the financial conferences were going on, of which the details are not forthcoming; we only know that by the middle of July he was able to turn his face homeward, having done what he could in the way of negotiation with the Treasury. That department had newly come under the administration of Harley, soon to be made Earl of Oxford,—a disadvantage to the cause of the island, so far as the

[p] MS. iii. 71.

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Minister's personal feelings towards Lord Derby might be concerned, for his Lordship was the most strenuous of Whigs, and had just been removed from the Lord-Lieutenancy of Lancashire and North Wales by Harley himself as head of Queen Anne's Tory ministry[q]. And the Bishop, whose friendships were known to be mainly among those who were called High Churchmen, may have undertaken the mission partly to counteract this prejudice. He was probably at the time—he is known to have been afterwards—very intimate with Harley's brother Edward, a financier of good repute, and since 1702 Auditor of the Imprest, a place of consequence in the Exchequer. Be that as it may, the Bishop understood the Ministers as giving him very great encouragement, and was so well satisfied with their assurances, that when he had reached the island, landing at Laxy, July 17, after a voyage of thirty hours, ("having spent," as he adds, "half a year in London serving Lord Derby and the country[r],") his representations and those of his colleagues prevailed upon the Manx legislature, in anticipation of concessions from England, to pass a stringent "Act for preventing frauds in her Majesty's Customs by the exportation of foreign goods from this Island[s]." The preamble states two kinds of fraud of which the insular custom-houses had complained: 1. that tobacco and other foreign goods were largely imported from Britain, as if for the use of the island, and after drawback allowed, were privately re-exported; 2. that wine also and brandy and other foreign goods were shipped immediately from the island to Great Britain, and landed without any duty at all. Against both they enact severe fines and forfeitures, charging the Water-Bailiff (who was then the Lord's Attorney-General also) to see to their enforcement under heavy penalties. But all this with an express understanding that the English Government would grant importation of the produce of the island, their "bestials" especially, free of all customs whatever: and they proceed to enact certain precautions against abuse of that liberty on the part of the Manx traders. Their earnestness is shewn by the rapid progress of this Bill, for it was passed at Castle Rushen

[q] Nichols, Lit. Hist., i. 298. [r] MS. ii. 57. [s] Mills, i. 195.

no later than August 3, the Bishop having landed, as above, July 17. And during the winter—the negociations perhaps being found likely to last longer than they had expected—they borrowed £100 of Lord Derby to "defray the charges of such as shall be sent to attend the English Parliament for obtaining a free trade for this island with Great Britain;" and they assessed the island to repay it.

Suspension of the Customs Act, 1713.

Proportionable to this eagerness was their disappointment, when after waiting two years they found that nothing had been done in England to meet their concession: so that in 1713, Sept. 25[t], they formally suspended this Act for a twelvemonth, to continue suspended "from year to year afterwards, or until the freedom of trade for the inhabitants of this island with Great Britain be granted as the same was agreed with the Commissioners of Customs in London:" alleging that "our small trade here is greatly sunk, the commodities of the island standing still burthened with the same high duties as before, the restrictions and hardships of the Act being such as are not required elsewhere in her Majesty's dominions, and much goods perished for want of freedom to export them;" hence "decay of trade, and a general stop to the sale of those few commodities this island affords; by the continuance whereof will soon ensue the misery and decay of this land and the inhabitants thereof, under which we can no longer support ourselves." And so, "to prevent the ruin of this island, all persons trading to it are to be free from these restrictions and hardships during the said term." In other words, "we will do nothing in aid of the English custom-house for restraining the contraband trade, until England has altered her revenue laws in our favour." Not a word, not a thought, apparently, of the immorality and sad effects of smuggling; and yet the Bishop's name is subscribed to this, as it had been to the former Act. But so it is, that on that particular point his usual Christian thoughtfulness in some measure seems to have failed him. Years afterwards, as we shall see, he became aware of this in a very remarkable way, and distinctly confessed it, but at the time we are not told that he had any scruple at all. It is the more extra-

[t] Mills, 208.

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ordinary, since Earl William's order of 1699, of which he must have been at least cognizant, had distinctly alleged "defrauding the King of his just rights" as the ground on which it was issued.

If a conjecture on such a point may be hazarded, I should say that Wilson's deep sense of the temporal needs of his beloved Manxmen, and especially of unfairness and indeed breach of faith towards them on the part of the English Treasury, made him blind to the scandal which he was incautiously giving. It is an instance of what on the whole an attentive observer might perhaps collect from his history, that severe as he may sometimes appear, his faults were on the whole the faults of a genial and sympathetic temper. I will not here specify; the reader can judge for himself.

CHAPTER IX.

THE DISCIPLINE STRICTER.—SECOND VOYAGE ABOUT THE CUSTOMS, 1711—1713.

On his return in 1711 he found some most painful disciplinary causes awaiting him. Another of his clergy, the fourth since his coming to the island, had been presented for no less crime than adultery. The Bishop wrote thus to him :—

"The honour of the Christian religion in general, and the dignity of that sacred order to which you belong, being highly concerned in the rumour spread abroad, through this whole diocese, and now lately brought in, by way of presentment by the Wardens of Kirk Arbory, viz., That you, a Priest of the most high God, are suspected to be guilty of the horrible and crying sin of adultery with one Dorothy Cornish, now resident in Kirk Arbory; from which gross imputation in regard you have hitherto taken no pains to free yourself, it becomes us whom God has invested with the episcopal authority in this place, to make a thorow enquiry into the said scandal, and to give full satisfaction to the world concerning the same. You are therefore hereby required and commanded, without any other formal citation or summons, personally to appear before us, at the Consistory to be holden at Kirk Michael on Thursday the 13th instant, then and there to answer for yourself touching the

said scandal, with which you stand charged, that either you may be openly vindicated, and reparation be made you, in case of innocence and a clear reputation; or on the other hand, if you are found guilty, that such sentence may be pronounced against you, as the nature of your crime shall demerit.—Given under our hand at Bishop's Court, this 7th day of September, 1711.

"Tho. Sodor and Man."

"To the Rev. Mr. Thomas Christian,
Vicar of Kirk Christ, Rushen."

"At a Convocation"—such the Consistory became by the clergy taking part with the Bishop and his officers — "held at Kirk Michael, Sept. 13, 1711, where Mr. Tho. Christian, of Kirk Christ Ryshen, appeared and publickly confessed that he had been guilty of adultery.

"Mr. Christian,—

"You have formerly been admonish'd, not only privatly but in public, of the many occasions of offence you have given by an unwary conversation.

"You have been charg'd with crimes of this nature heretofore, not only by common fame, but by persons demanding satisfaction for the attempts you have made upon them.

"You have been requir'd to clear yourself of these imputations, which hitherto you have never been prevailed on to do. If the mischiefs arising from hence had only affected your own self or family, the consequences would have been bad enough; but the discipline of the Church, the honour of God, the purity of the Gospel, the holiness of its ministers, have all been exposed on your account, not to mention the infinit scandal you have given to particular persons, as well natives as strangers. We do not repeat these things to drive you to despair, but to make you sensible of the greatness of your crime, of the equity of that sentence which by the advice of my brethren here present I am going to pronounce upon you, and that your repentance may be as publick (if possible) as the scandal you have given. You have owned yourself guilty of adultery before your brethren, and this whole assembly; your not persisting in your innocence, nor excusing yourself when you are guilty, gives us some hopes that you are not given over to a reprobate mind, but that by the grace of God you will live to perfect that repentance, which you now profess to begin.

"In the mean time we must do our duty, and discharge that trust reposed in us by our Lord Jesus Christ, and by the laws of this His Church.

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"In His Name therefore we discharge you from the exercise of any part of the ministry, and deprive you of all those advantages which by the laws of this land are appointed for the maintainance of the clergy.

"And we pray God that this present punishment may fill your heart with *shame* and *fear*, and be a meanes of recovering you out of the snare of the devil, that *your* soul may be sav'd, and that *others* may fear to do so wickedly, which we beg for Jesus Christ's sake, our great Lord and Master. Amen.

"Tho. Sodor and Man."

(With his officers and nine others of the Clergy.)

The same day the Bishop had to deal with Capt. Radcliffe of Knockaloe and others declining to pay their tithe of fish, under pretence of an exemption. It must have been a very unpleasant suit to the Bishop, for Captain Radcliffe was even then engaged as a main promoter of the new church of St. Patrick. But the Bishop's convictions of the divine right of tithes in the strictest sense were continually deepening, and he felt that by such allowances the blessing of God on the fisheries themselves would be forfeited. There was an appeal, which was finally heard on the 12th of March following, when Governor Mawdesley, "having taken the Advice of our Hon^ble^ Lord's Council and Deemsters, all present in Court," decided clearly in favour of the Bishop's claim, and ordered the tithe fish to be paid hereafter in kind as usual, the master of the vessel dividing the fish into five portions, and the proctor going on board and choosing which portion he would.

On Oct. 9, I find the Bishop suspending for a time some part of an offender's penance for unchastity, with a condition which marks forcibly the *patriarchal* cast of his discipline, and its tendency to protect the weaker side:—"If he do hereafter presume to expose the woman, by boasting of his sin and glorying in his shame, he shall not only perform the present censure, but also undergo the penalty of the Ecclesiastical Law."

A yet more flagrant case of the same kind was reported to him in March from the Chapter Court of Castletown. "Thomas Kinley of Kirk Christ Rushen did proffer for the sum of £5 to use means to disinherit John Lowey, an orphan," by

accusing his mother of unchastity committed with himself— "of which scandal she cleared herself upon oath with lawful compurgators in the face of the Court, and has moreover the general character of a chaste and virtuous woman." He repeated the scandal very impudently before the Court, "in hopes of a reward from the orphan's grandfather and grandmother," who seem for whatever reason to have conspired to disinherit their son's child. The Archdeacon and Vicar-General report the case to the Bishop with their sentence—a fortnight's imprisonment, penance in seven churches on as many Sundays, and publicly to ask pardon of the injured person. The Bishop (March 19) approves, and specifies the churches; adding, as his manner was, a few characteristic words:—"Out of a just abhorrence of the man's wicked design against Anne Lowey and her child, it is ordered that he continue in prison to the full expiration of fourteen days: and if he bring from the several churches certificates of his penitent behaviour, his Lordship will desire his Pastor to give him absolution. But if his behaviour do not demonstrate his repentance, his bond will be returned, and his censure continued till his reformation be apparent to his fellow-Christians, whom he has offended by a crime of so deep a dye." It is observable that the Bishop passes over Easter in the list of Sundays on which penance was to be done. There are other instances of this in the Manx records.

A little before this occurred one of the providential escapes which he always religiously set down for periodical remembrance and thanksgiving:—"From a very dangerous fall off my horse. March 6, 1711." His familiarity with horsemanship did not cause him, as perhaps it may some, to think little of such deliverances.

This Lent was marked by the satisfactory penitence of two very grievous offenders, Thomas Garret of Douglas, and John Kneale of Kirk Andreas. The former being sentenced for adultery to penance in seven churches, petitions for relaxation, alleging (among other things) "his great toil, pain, and loss in regard of travelling so far abroad, and the market being on Saturday, and his poor family without any

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thing to subsist on[u]." The Bishop "hoping the petitioner is touched with a true sense of his sin, and of the great dishonour done to his Christian profession, and in regard he has performed three Sundays' penance with an humble and becoming seriousness, as is certified by the several vicars of Maughold, Lezayre and Michael, and in prospect of his Christian behaviour for the future, thinks fit to suspend the rest of his censures, enjoining him only to appear the next Sunday (the fifth in Lent) in penitential habit in the Chapel of Douglas, there to be received into the peace of the Church as the law provides in that behalf."

The case of Kneale was somewhat unusual. He was a relapsed adulterer, and excommunicated, and on March 22, 1711, the Bishop received a petition, evidently drawn not by him, but for him, (as those petitions mostly were—it could not be otherwise in the ordinary ignorance of the people,) professing himself to be sensible of the sentence passed on him; the Archdeacon, his pastor, having so dealt with him as to convince him of his sin and of the scandal he had given. He goes on :—

"Now may it please your Lordship,—since your petitioner to the best of his power is become a sincere convert, and will by God's assistance become a new creature, as his future conversation will manifest; and that it is the design of the Church by her censures not to ruin but to reform notorious offenders, and upon true repentance and amendment of life to restore them to the happy communion of true Christians: your poor dejected and sorrowful petitioner most humbly prays your Lordship will be pleased to take off him the direful sentence of excommunication, and inflict what other punishment your Lordship thinks fit; so that he may be restored to the benefit of hearing God's word, and be made partaker of God's ordinances, which for the future he will endeavour to observe to the best of his power by God's assistance."

The Bishop's note in reply is :—

"Before I can give any answer to this petition I must be satisfied (and that from the Archdeacon his proper Pastor) that this is in some measure the sense of the petitioner as well as the words of

[u] Perhaps because he would be obliged for some of the Sundays of his penance to leave Douglas in good time on the Saturday, to be ready for his penance on the Sunday morning; e. g. at Peel and Rushen.

him that writes it for him. And I desire that such as write petitions of this kind would seriously consider what they have to answer for, if they should impose and prevail with me by feigned words to take off the censures of the Church before they have a wholesome effect upon criminals. I should have been well pleased if the person who wrote this had assured me under his hand that this unhappy man (as he believes in his conscience) is as much affected with the condition his sins have brought him into, as this paper seems to intimate; when I am satisfy'd of this, I will with a glad and thankful heart take off the censure, and appoint him what to do in order to be at peace with himself, his God, and the Church."

"BISHOP'S COURT, *March* 22, 1711."

The Archdeacon answers:—

"My Lord, the petitioner since he was excommunicated for his great crime came twice a week to me for instruction and admonition in the work of repentance. By his outward behaviour, and according to his capacities, I take him to be sensible of his state and condition, and is [to have?] become very penitent for his grievous offence. I give your Lordship not only my thoughts but the opinion of his neighbours, and several of the Congregation, whom I desired in publick to inform me if he was seriously concerned and sorrowful for the scandall he had given to the Christian Religion by his repeated adultery; whose answer was, that in his conversation he was much reformed, and they believed him to be heartily sorrie for his offence.—This I humbly presume to certifye to your Lordship in his behalf."

"*April* 4, 1712.

The Bishop's conclusion is:—

"Mr. Archdeacon,—I have taken the longer time in answering this man's petition that I might not act rashly in a matter of so great consequence, both to his soul and the Church of Christ. He has lived in open wickedness and rebellion against God a long time: such habits are not so easily overcome as may be imagined by those who have not made the experiment. He may feel some inconveniences by people avoiding his company, (as I am persuaded all sober people do,) and refusing to employ him. But if these should be the only motives of the sorrow he expresses, and of his concern to be restored to the peace of the Church, it would be the greatest cruelty to him, as well as abuse of discipline in us, to restore him so soon. However, since you have taken pains with him, and believe him to be affected upon better motives, it is fit we should at least make tryal of the sincerity of his repentance (as far

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as in us lieth), by obliging him to give publick satisfaction, as he has given public scandal. You may satisfye him that in what I here direct, we come far short of the primitive discipline of the Church, where notorious offenders were kept for some years out of the Church's Communion for a tryal of their sincerity and obedience; nay, even the express laws of our own Church require such offenders to do penance in every church of the Diocese. But I aim at convincing him of his sin and folly, as well by acts of kindness as necessary severity. I hope you'll continue to deal with him so as to make him truly sensible of what he is about; that both you and I, having done what we can to save a soul from death, may have the approbation of our own conscience, and of Him in whose Name we act. In doing of which, the blessing of God attend us both.

"I am,

"Bishop's Court, "Your affectionate Friend and Brother,
"*April* 24, 1712. Tho. Sodor and Man."

He subjoins:—

"In order to his being absolved and received into the Church, John Kneale is to observe these following directions. He is to go to the several churches, and upon the days hereafter mentioned; and in penitential habit and manner he is at the Church door to beseech the Rector or Vicar as he goes into the Church for morning service after this manner: 'Sir, I pray you for Christ's sake to satisfy your congregation that I am heartily grieved for my great offences against God and man; that I purpose by the grace of God to become a new man. To which end I desire yours and their pardon and prayers.' After which he shall wait at the church doors in the same manner and until the sermon and service be over, for an answer, which the minister shall give him in writing, after he has strictly examined him before the people touching the truth and sincerity of his repentance."

He specifies the places and times of this penance, nine in number, passing by Whitsunday as he had Easter before, and ending with Kirk Andreas as the place of absolution, as being the penitent's own parish. And he desires that these papers, with the sentence of excommunication, may be sent to the clergy, "that they may see with what caution I purpose to proceed in these matters." The several clergymen certify that all was duly performed.

He had found no doubt after his absences, as was natural, that petitions were too easily got up and too lightly received; and thus gathered up the reins, like a skilful horseman as he

was. Archdeacon Wattleworth in particular seems to have required an occasional monition of that kind. Jan. 31, 1711, the Bishop dealing with two unchaste women of his parish, and bidding them stand at the church door, Sundays and holidays, at matins and evensong, till the minister and congregation be satisfied of their true penitence, adds this hint to the minister:—

"Till which time we desire the Archdeacon to repeat his exhortations, and use his utmost diligence to reclaim them; and not to send us any certificate of their reformation till he has very evident instances thereof, that they may not delude themselves and us in a matter of such mighty consequence.

"The order above written is to be thus understood:—that the persons therein censur'd are not to be receiv'd into the Church, until they shall have obtain'd and brought certificates to the Bishop, and until they shall be appointed and have perform'd penances suitable to the heinousness of their crimes."

The Court of Correction drawing on, he endeavoured by an order of the same tenor to provide for its doing its work thoroughly:—

"Mr. Woods,—I would have you forthwith to give directions to the clergy, and positive orders to the sumners to bring all such persons as have been presented and are not censured, and all such as have been censur'd and have not perform'd their censures, to Kirk Michael, on Thursday, the 31 of this instant, to be there by nine in the morning. Let the orders be as strict as can be conceiv'd, that I may not be deluded in a matter which so nearly concernes the welfare of the Church,—and let the sumners have the Governour's token to call for a soldier where they are any of them disobey'd. Let the Archdeacon and Vicar-General know that I desire they'll be there at the same time without fail, and if it be thought fit there may be a Consistory court, where you must be sure to be. If you please you may send this letter with the orders you give out, and let the General Sumner have notice.—Given at Bishop's Court this 21 Jan. 1711."

Finding this evaded, he follows it up, at the end of the first week in Lent, by a yet stricter decree, to be published in all churches:—

"Forasmuch as severall notorious offenders within this Isle have and doe still endeavour to evade the censures of the Church for their

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disorderly way of living, by leaving their usuall abode and runing from place to place soe that the respective sumners (after much trouble and inquirie) cannot find them, wherby the discipline of the Church, the care and diligence of the Ecclesiasticall Court to punish vice and reforme sinners, are rendred ineffectuall, and lewd persons encouraged to persist in their wickedness, to the great scandall of Christian religion, and the dishonour of Almighty God—

"It is therefore hereby ordered that the respective ministers of the severall churches of this island, doe publish before their congregations, That if any person whatever presume to harbour, conceale or entertain any such offender for the future, [he] shall forfeit £3 *ad usum Domini*, and further punishment at the Ordinaries discretion."

He specifies one offender by name, and signifies that any one who is caught thus endeavouring to evade justice will incur imprisonment for contempt at the Court's discretion. This is dated 21 Feb. 1711.

Regulations touching Tithe.

A question between the clergy and farmers, which had been mooted but imperfectly determined at the time of the Act of Settlement, began about this time to be very troublesome. In that Act no composition had been made for the tithes of the Abbey demesnes, made over by Earl Charles, but they were left to be paid in kind. It was represented to the Bishop, that the case of the demesne tenants was consequently harder than that of other tenants, for whom the Act established a *modus*.

"They therefore prayed," says Bishop Wilson, (from whose reply to a petition from some of them, April 27, 1712, I take this account,) "that the Clergy would take one half the Lord's rent instead of full tithes. This was complyed with by us, in hopes it would have been looked upon as a real favour. Some of them came to me pursuant to this promise, and subscribed a paper and obliged themselves to pay as above, but some of the rest absolutely refused this favour—would neither pay in money nor in kind: others resolved to pay in kind. So that we have been forced to a troublesome lawsuit, to recover the Church's rights. This has obliged me to refuse" what is now asked for, viz. "giving those few who have subscribed any further assurance than this,—that as long as I live they shall pay no more than what I agreed with them to pay. If they

think this no favour, they may pay as the law expressly requires, and as I shall be obliged to force them to do; for it was never intended to relieve some of them and leave others to try what they could recover by law. If they had all unanimously complied with with what Mr. Christian and others proposed in their behalf, they should at that time have had what they desired, but this being rejected, they may now if they think fit refuse the favour of paying less than the law requires, which if they refuse, they may easily see the consequences."

The "troublesome lawsuit" means probably a suit recorded a little before, against one Fargher, in Kirk Malew parish, who seems to have made himself a sort of champion and victim in the cause of the recusant tithe-payers, choosing to be imprisoned for nearly a year rather than pay even the proposed *modus;* and this may account for the unusually peremptory tone of the Bishop's reply to his application for enlargement:—"The Petitioner having been committed according to law for refusing to pay his tithes, and the arrears pursuant to the Act of Settlement, his allegations are frivolous and unjust. When he thinks fit to give security to discharge the arrears and to pay his tithes peaceably for the time to come, he may be released."

In the Convocation of the following Whitsuntide, June 12, the Bishop laid the matter before the clergy, who unanimously declared their concurrence in his view, and their expectation "that all and every of the said Tenants would for the future punctually pay the Tithes of the said Demesne Lands, or agree yearly for the same, as other Tenants are accustomed and obliged to do."

To make an end of this matter: seven years afterwards, in the Convocation of 1719, the Bishop put in a statement reciting the above particulars, and also that little or no good had come of his continuing the offer of the proposed *modus.*

"Therefore," he proceeds, "he has reason to hope that posterity will not oblige the Church to stand to the said agreement, (though for the present it may be no great loss to those that enjoy the said tithes); especially as far as concerns such as have not subscribed unto it: the Bishop for his part acknowledging that the said concession was rash and unadvised, both as contrary to the Act of Settlement, and as presuming to change the method which God from the beginning had established for the maintenance of His

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Service. For which reason the said Bishop wishes to make amends to the Church for so much as he supposeth she may suffer by this act of him and the clergy; hoping his successors may be able to rectify this mistake of his, which for the reasons above set down, he supposes he may righteously do. This being a true state of the case, and of the motives which induced him to do what he now repents of. "THO. SODOR AND MAN."

"*Apr.* 16, 1719."

No wonder he could do so much towards correcting other men's faults, who was so ready to see and confess his own.

In the above-mentioned Convocation, 1712, it being noticed that for five or six years past much of the land had been tilled with potatoes, and so withdrawn (as was supposed) from being titheable; an order was made that all persons should "give a just account and proportion of their potatoes unto the rector, vicar, or proctor of their respective parishes, as of any other tithe growing or produced off or from the earth: the tithe-owners and agents to take care that no prejudice do accrue to the Church by their neglect in this matter." Which decree, though within our memory it came to be a cause of great commotion in the island, seems to have been quietly received at the time, and is confessedly no more than the old Manx Canons imply.

Death of Ewan Christian.

In these and all his dealings with the general population of the island he had just sustained a very great loss by the death of Mr. Ewan Christian, of Lewaigue, "my worthy Friend,"—so he enters it in his Memoranda—"*May* 28, 1712." He preached at Mr. Christian's funeral, at Kirk Maughold, in which parish Port Lewaigue is situated; and in 1798 there are said to have been two hundred parishioners of the name[u]. What manner of man he was the sermon[x] sets forth more significantly than is usual on such occasions:—

"He is going to the grave with such a character among men and such a testimony of good works attending him, that when God thinks fit to call for any of us, the very best of us may wish his case may be ours. He lived to a good old age .... neither shortened

[u] Feltham's Tour, p. 165.

[x] The 95th of those published. See it in Works, A.-C. Ed., vol. iii. p. 492.

his days by intemperance, nor was overmuch concerned to live any longer than while he could be of use in his generation. He did all the good he could, for his *country*, for his *family*, for his *friends*, and for his *neighbours;* in short, he has been a common benefactor to this poor place," (that is, to the Isle of Man,) "and his loss will be sooner felt than made up.

"Would to God I could persuade many of you that hear me to follow his example. And why should we not all do so? His education was not above the common rate of his neighbours. But this should convince us of a truth which too few take notice of—that holiness of life is the only sure way to wisdom and a sound judgment of things. Under this disposition of mind, everything we read, or hear of, or meet with, will afford matter of useful improvement.

"I am sure this was the way this good man took; having subdued his will and affections to the rule of God's commandments, by this means his faculties were enlarged, and his understanding disposed for and stocked with abundance of useful knowledge, such as would surprise and edify those who knew him intimately.

"Let us now leave him and his good works, which shall either accompany or follow him, in the hands of his Creator, to receive that blessing which His well-beloved Son shall pronounce to all that love and fear Him."

Such was the exemplary Bishop's farewell to his neighbour and helper, the exemplary Christian farmer. How sorely must he have missed him in the troubles that were coming on!

Perhaps in what follows some indication of those troubles may be found. This same Convocation of 1712 found it requisite to draw up a memorial to the Governor, Mawdesley, complaining that for some few years past the liberty of appealing to the staff of Government from the decisions of the Church Courts had been very vexatiously abused—multitudes of appeals preferred, (sometimes upon very frivolous occasions,) yet in all that time no one sentence reversed. They ask the Governor therefore to consider of some way to discourage unnecessary appeals; referring him to former orders of the Lords of the island, and the practice in like cases of the Great Earl James especially. In effect, they simply petition to have their costs allowed when the appeal is judged frivolous and vexatious. This representation was communicated to

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the Governor, June 16, by Mr. Woods, acting as Episcopal Registrar. But it is not clear that any step whatever was taken in consequence of it. There is no reason at all that I know of for imagining that this was due to any change in Mawdesley's opinion; but it was a delicate point of legislation, and he probably would find his officers beginning to be jealous of the spiritual power.

One at least of the principal of them, Mr. John Rowe, Comptroller, (or Clerk of the Rolls, as he would now be called,) took occasion in the following harvest to signalize himself as a recusant tithe-payer. Occupying some of the Abbey demesnes in Malew parish, and sharing, I suppose, in the grievance, real or pretended, which has been above detailed, he carried his corn without giving due notice to the proctor to come and take the tithe in kind. For this he was charged before a consistory in Kirk Michael, Nov. 12, 1712, and the sumner was ordered to take down the stacks and set aside the tithe; any person resisting to be committed until he submit and pay all fees. The episcopal records tell us no more of the case, but it appears otherwise that "Mr. Comptroller" himself resisted, and was committed; that he petitioned as Farghcr had done before him, and received, as might be expected, the same answer,—that he might be enlarged when he had paid his tithes according to the Act of Settlement. There was no appeal, which shews that Mr. Rowe had no case. He probably was but indulging his temper, in defiance of the clergy and their proceedings in the late Convocation. Yet this case is relied upon by the detractors of the Bishop, as shewing his love of arbitrary power[y].

Death of the Bishop's daughter.

It is observable that the Bishop's name, for whatever reason, does not appear in the consistorial order just mentioned. A deep affliction was impending, one of the very deepest that could befal him; and came upon him that day week — the death of his eldest child and only remaining daughter. He had left her six years before at Warrington, in the care of her mother's family, for health or education's sake, or for both; and she was now in her fourteenth year. The loss to him must

[y] See Train, p. 356, quoting Bullock, p. 166.

have been unspeakable. He simply says, "My pretty daughter Molly died, Nov. 27, 1712, 13" [years of age]. She was buried but two days after, in Warrington churchyard, near her mother and brother; the entry in the register standing thus: "1712. Nov. B." (i. e. Buried)" Mary Wilson, daughter to Thomas lord bishop of Sodor and Man. 29th." The shortness of the interval might lead one to suspect that she was carried off by some rapid and wasting infection; only that we find it in other instances, with no reason to imagine any thing of the kind. If it were so, it would account for the Bishop's staying in Man, instead of coming over, as from him might be expected, to wait on his child at the last.

Dragging lewd women after a Boat.

In one material respect, at any rate, the Governor shewed at this time an unabated readiness to hearken to and support the Church. A fortnight after the Convocation, June 26, 1712, at a Consistory Court held at Kirk Michael, a person who had relapsed into fornication, and is described as "a common notorious whore,—proffering moreover to perjure herself this day in open court,"—is ordered to be dragged after a boat at Douglas on the Saturday following, and the Governor is desired to give his order for "soldiers and a boat to execute this censure." The paper is signed by the Bishop. Either in this case or in some other, the Douglas people proved refractory, and on the 9th of the following April an injunction came from Governor Mawdesley to the commander of the fort there,—

"That as often as any orders from the Spiritual Court come to Douglas for the future, you forthwith order one of the soldiers of your garrison to charge any of the boats of your port to perform the same, .. and that he see the same observed: and if any owner or master of a boat or his boat's crew shall neglect or refuse to perform it, you are immediately to commit him or them into the fort, and acquaint me thereof, that they may be fin'd and otherwise proceeded against."

On this order the Vicars-General acted the very next day, pointing out to the Constable of Douglas—

"that the person above-mentioned with another had long evaded the sentence by absconding themselves," but now "pursuant to

CHAP. IX. the Hon. Governor's directions he should forthwith send a soldier to secure them, to be publicly dragged the next market day across the river before the market place and back again; the soldier to charge one of the boats of the town, and the crew belonging thereto, to perform the same, and he is to see it done, and receive the usual fees."

What could hardly have been expected, Mawdesley's order was indorsed two years afterwards by Horne, his successor in the government, the great opponent of the Bishop[z]. The infliction then of this penalty, which to most in our time appears so disgusting, was a matter of course in the Isle of Man some 150 years since; the Bishop's enemies did not endeavour to use it against him.

Shortly afterwards it was tried again in a somewhat singular case, and seemingly with good effect, as the subjoined extracts from the records shew :—

"Forasmuch as neither Christian advice nor gentle methods of punishment are found to have any effect on Kath. Kinred of Kirk Christ, a notorious strumpet, who has brought forth three illegitimate children, and still continues to stroll about the country, and to lead a most vicious and scandalous life on other accounts; all which tending to the great dishonour of the Christian name, and to her own utter destruction without a timely and thorough reformation: It is therefore hereby ordered (as well for the further punishment of the said delinquent as for the example of others) that the said Kath. Kinred be dragged after a boat in the sea at Peeltown, on Wednesday the 17th instant, (being the fair of St. Patrick,) at the height of the market. To which end, a boat and boat's crew are to be charged by the General Sumner, and the constable and soldiers of the garrison are, by the Governor's order, to be aiding and assisting in seeing this censure performed.

"And in case any owner, master, or crew of any boat are found refractory, by neglecting or refusing to perform this service for the restraining of vice; their names are to be forthwith given in by the General Sumner, to the end they may be severely fined for their contempt, as the Governor's order directs.—Dated at Bishop's Court this 15th day of March, 1713. "Tho. Sodor and Man.

William Walker."

[z] "Att Castle Rushen, this 29th July, 1715. I do allow the within order, and do require all persons concerned to see that the same be punctually observed, and not only in Douglas but att all other plaees in the Island, where it shall be required.

"Alex. Horne."

Mr. Parr it seems, by death or otherwise, had vacated the place of Vicar-General, and the Bishop of course had nominated Mr. Walker: eminently (to use a very modern expression) "the right man in the right place;" in temper, as in other respects, peculiarly fitted to act with Bishop Wilson. This appears by a little circumstance related by the same Cottier whose traditions I have before referred to. In speaking of the Bishop as a farmer, and how very strict he was with his servants and labourers, he said he had heard his father speak of his Lordship and Mr. Walker being once together inspecting some corn which had been thrashed, and of the Bishop's finding fault as if it were not thoroughly done; whereupon Mr. Walker ("who was never the man to kindle a fire") said, "Oh, my Lord, you know some will always slip through." Walker, it may be noted, as well as the Bishop, had been used to such work himself in his boyhood.

But to return to the history of poor Katharine Kinred. It was certified by the Sumner-General, so long after as July 13 ensuing, that "St. Patrick's-day being so stormy and tempestuous that no boat could perform the within censure, upon St. German's-day about the height of the market the within Kath. Kinred was dragged after a boat in the sea according to the within order." However, years went on and the punishment seemed to have done her no good. We hear of her again in 1718, presented at Ballaugh for a new relapse into the same sin. The decree from Bishop's Court, Oct. 27, runs thus:—

"Katharine Kinred, though rigorously dealt with before for her frequent instances of whoredom (this being the fourth bastard child she has born) is now found to be in a manner irreclaimable, in regard neither the corporal nor the spiritual punishments inflicted have had the due effect upon her; she after imprisonment, penance, and dragging in the sea, continuing still remorseless. This her harden'd and impenitent state loudly calls for the most dreadful sentence, viz. to be excluded from the society of Christians, but that a gross ignorance, and a degree of unsettledness and defect of understanding, might hinder the expected impression of it on her soul. For this time therefore it is ordered that she be 21 days closely imprison'd, and (as soon as the weather will permit) dragged in the sea again after a boat . . and also perform public penance in

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all the churches of this island; after which, if she be found worthy, she shall be received into the Church's peace; or otherwise, which we pray God prevent, she will fall under the fearful sentence before-mention'd."

This is signed by the Bishop and both the Vicars-General.

The first part of the sentence it appears was executed, and the penances in the several churches began. They took a long time, for the earliest reported dates May 24, 1719, the latest July 24, 1720; and at last a real impression seems to have been produced upon the poor half-witted creature. The certificates of the clergy all run in this strain:—"I do hope she'll become a true penitent, considering the defect of her understanding;"—"did penance in appearance becomingly;"—"with a degree of concern not to be expected of her;"—"as became a penitent;"—"with as much submission and discretion as can be expected of the like of her."

The Bishop's conclusion is,—

"This unhappy woman gives very many promises of leading a better life for the time to come. In hopes of this, and that age and the experience of the troubles she has met with, and the good advice, and frequent admonitions she will have from her pastor, may prevail with her to lament the sins she has been guilty of during the remainder of her life, and that she may, according to her capacity, bring forth fruits meet for repentance, I do desire that she may, after performing public penance, be received into the peace of the Church according to the form appointed for that purpose. — Given under my hand, this 13th of Augt, 1720."

The result in this case, as far as we are told it, appears to justify Bishop Wilson's idea—which was, I suppose, that a dull and very childish heart and mind, hardened by ill habits, could scarcely be turned into a better way without some bodily and outward infliction: and he adopted that which the law of the land prescribed; not however unaccompanied by the fatherly and pastoral care of such as Mr. Walker.

Case of Christopher Parker.

But perhaps the most satisfactory instance of the good understanding which down to this time existed between the spiritual and the civil authorities of the isle, is the case of Christopher Parker, who was censured about this

time. This man held one of the most responsible offices in the island—that of Receiver-General, which gave him a place in the Governor's Council. On October 29, 1712, having incurred conviction for no less a crime than embezzlement on a large scale, recklessly practised for many years, from A.D. 1700 at least; which being contrary to his oath of office, involved him also in deep perjury; he was sentenced by "the Head Court holden at Castle Rushen," to stand in the pillory for two hours, and to pay a fine of £10 to the Lord of the Isle; "and afterwards to be returned to the Church for perjury according to the Statute:" meaning probably the following "point of Law," declared to be such by the Deemsters and Keys before Sir John Stanley, King of Man, A.D. 1422:—"Whosoever is sworn, and after their oaths proved false, they shall make satisfaction by our Law, and reserve [? return] them to the Church for Perjury[a]." Consequently, at Bishop's Court, Dec. 15, Mr. Parker was ordered to perform three Sundays' penance in Malew, Peel, and Kirk Braddan Churches, (the chief town parishes of the island,) and after testimonials of penitent behaviour to be received into the Church as the Ordinary shall appoint. In the meantime to be suspended *ab ingressu Ecclesiæ*. The Bishop wrote out with his own hand the following schedule for Mr. Parker to read publicly:—

"Good Christians,—As I have too deservedly drawn upon myself the censures of the Church, so I would endeavour that they may not be lost upon me. I do therefore desire to give glory to God in acknowledging His justice as well as my own transgressions; most humbly beseeching Him to give me true repentance for all the errors of my life past, and especially for those that have been the occasion of this day's sorrows. And that my repentance may be more acceptable to God, I do here in His Presence declare that I am resolved and ready to make restitution and satisfaction for any injuries and wrongs done by me to any other. Not only of such wrongs as the law will oblige me to, but even there, where no law but that of God and a good conscience can compel me. And having thus sincerely resolved, I hope I shall have yours and all good Christians' pardon and prayers, that God may perfect the good

[a] Mills, 17.

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work which He has begun upon me, and that my soul may be saved in the day of the Lord Jesus. "Christr. Parker."

"*January* 11, 1712."

"On which day, being the first Sunday after the Epiphany, Mr. Parker came and did penance at Kirk Malew after a very Christian manner; and being overwhelmed with sorrow could not repeat the declaration and confession, but desired the Vicar, Mr. Woods, to read it to the congregation; which he did, and explained it in Manx; Mr. Parker giving all along signal and remarkable tokens of repentance. In consideration of which," says the Bishop, "and that by these more gentle methods (where such will do) we may bring offenders to a sense of their faults, I have thought fit to suspend the remainder of Mr. Parker's censure. But forasmuch as the several congregations before which he was appointed to acknowledge his crime may otherwise be ignorant of the true motives of this indulgence, I do hereby direct the Vicars of Kirk Braddan, Kirk Patrick, and German to satisfy their respective churches of the reasons above-mentioned, after which the above-mentioned penitent shall be gladly received into the peace of the Church."

And the explanations are certified to have been fully given both in English and in Manx. The penitent's petition has nothing in it peculiar, excepting that he professes himself "hourly more concerned for the dangerous and terrible consequence of being separated from the Congregation of the Faithful, which place should be the greatest comfort and surest retreat to persons under affliction;" and alleges his main object to be, "that he may once more partake of the Sacraments or means of grace with the rest of his Christian brethren."

Cases of Witch-craft.

The records of 1712 bring before us another curious subject, that of witchcraft, of which two cases are registered. At Kirk Michael, July 31, (the Bishop apparently being absent,) one Alice Knakill, alias Moor, of Kirk Lonan, confessed to a charge of having taken up some earth from under a neighbour's door, and burnt it to ashes, which she gave to her cattle, "with an intention, as she owns, to make them give more milk. Also another woman declares that the said Alice Knakill cut a piece out of her petticoat and burnt it to powder, which she drank with a design, as she con-

fessed, to recover her health and procure sleep. Both which charms she owns to have been taught her by an Irish-woman." She was sentenced to three Sundays' penance in neighbouring churches, and in each "to make a solemn renunciation of such diabolical practices for the future, and before the congregation beseech God to forgive this her heinous sin."

But this case was nothing to that of Alice Cowley of Ballaugh, which was thoroughly investigated by Mr. Walker in the February following. Ample depositions are preserved in the Bishop's Registry, to the effect that this person in concert with one Isabel Gawn of Peel, was a regular dealer in charms, and known as such far and wide in the island. Probably they were but two out of very many; for sorcery, as might be expected, was a very old inhabitant of

> "Mona, once hid from those who search the main,
> Where thousand elfin shapes abide:"

and it is hinted by one of those who most scorned and hated the discipline, that "idolizers as the people are of the clergy, they would prove refractory even to them, were they to preach against the existence of Fairies[b]." But the Fairies he might well regard as a harmless dream, compared with what this Ballaugh case brought to light: an old crone addressing herself to a youth, and telling him, "if he would give her a ninepenny piece, she would give him something that would make a young woman fall in love with him;" which proves to be a "powder in a paper, which he believes to be the powder of some of the bright stones that are at Foxdale." He however declined the bargain. Again, there are dealings with married women, under pretence of removing barrenness; with farmers for procuring a crop of corn, or making the herd fruitful; and with parents for recovery of a sick child; the mischief in each case being implied to be the witches' doing, and thought to be remedied by drawing blood from the witch. And young women come seeking charms to attract some one on whom they had set their fancies.

These things were proved at Kirk Michael in the Court of Correction, Feb. 26, 1712, a few days before Lent, and a jury of

[b] Waldron, Description of the Isle of Man, p. 125.

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six was summoned and sworn according to the Insular Law in such cases, to try Alice Cowley for "witchcraft and sorcery." They could not but find her guilty, so far as their function (resembling that of a grand jury) authorized them; but instead of delivering such a verdict as would have led to a trial in the criminal court of the island, and finally perhaps to capital punishment[c], they left her,—for "going through the island with many wicked practices in charms and sorcery, and for drawing or leading people to believe in her, . . which is a great scandal to the Christian religion—to the mercy of the court for fine and punishment." The Bishop and Vicars-General, now at Bishop's Court, receive the verdict on the evening of the same day, and lose no time in determining that—

"although the jury have not indicted Alice Cowley for practising charming and sorcery, yet her wickedness is of a very heinous nature, and tends very much to the drawing people aside from a trust in God and dependence on His good providence. And seeing she is by the said jury left to fine and punishment, which she justly demerits, and which the Church has full power to inflict, to make her and all that see her sensible, how far she has deviated from the ways of God and the precepts of the Christian religion: We do order imprisonment for thirty days, and before release-ment to give in sufficient security to stand two hours in a white sheet, a white wand in her right hand, and these words, 'for charming and sorcery,' in capital letters on her breast, in the four market towns of this island, at the public cross, in the height of the market; and afterwards to do penance in Ballaugh church, and there to renounce, and declare her abhorrence of, these diabolical practices for the time to come: which if she does after an humble and sincere manner, and if the Rector apprehend her to be serious, she may be received into the Church, and qualified to partake of the Holy Sacrament.'"

She is fined also ten shillings *in usum domini.* The Bishop however on petition granted her release from prison at the end of a fortnight, she giving bonds to perform her censures, and not to practise sorcery for the future[d].

[c] At least the law of England at that time would have inflicted imprisonment and pillory for the first offence, and death for the second.—See Blackstone, iv. 4, 6.

[d] Her penalty therefore was much milder than she would have incurred even by the present law of England; a year's imprisonment, and four times standing in the pillory.—Blackstone, ib.

No wonder he set his face strongly against such reckless heathenism as this; and that it prevailed widely we may gather both from the fact that even in our time it has been —perhaps still is—not uncommon in the island; and from his having thought it necessary to draw attention to this Ballaugh case by a circular to all his clergy, as follows:—

"Forasmuch as Alice Cowley, of Ballaugh, and Isabel Gawne, of Peel, have been found guilty, upon the oathes of several persons, of practising charmes and sorcery, and of wandering about the country deceiving the people, and drawing them from their dependance upon God, to trust in vanity and lies, for which crimes they have been justly censured by the Church: You are therefore requir'd to give notice hereof to your congregation, that none hereafter may presume to entertain, encourage, harbour, or consult the said persons, or any other who shall practise the like abominations, upon pain of incurring the severest ecclesiastical censures, and of being fin'd in 3^{lb} to the Lord of this isle; and that the Churchwardens, according to the tenour of their oathes, may be careful to present all persons who shall either practice such wickedness, or make application to them that do so. Dat. at Bishop's Court, 17 March, 1712."

"To the Reverend Mr. Woods, of Malew, to be communicated together with the following letter to the vicars, curates, and chaplains of the south side of this isle."

"*Bishop's Court, March,* 1712.

"Brethren,—

"Upon making a strict enquiry into the practices and cheats of the persons before mentioned, we find that many people, not knowing or not considering the greatness of the sin, have consulted these and such like charmers, to the scandal of their profession, and to the increase of their own guilt. My earnest desire therefore is, that you will not fail to take this occasion of representing unto your people, after as plain a manner as may be, the sin, and the consequences, of seeking to those wicked deceivers: That you make them sensible that all charms, let the words be good or bad, intelligible, or meer jargon, are of the devil, with whom there is a compact implied by the very practice: That it is a forsaking of God when we have most need to fly to and trust in Him, viz. in time of trouble and distress: That it is the greatest folly to expect, as it is the greatest impudence to promise, help without God's blessing.

"Let not your people fancy that these practices are rather fool-

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ish than wicked. God has not taught us to think so; for Exod. xxxiv. 26 is an instance, amongst others, of God's disapproving such charms, that prohibition being directed against a charm used by the heathen to procure plenty. Besides, these beginnings may, if not timely discouraged, end in downright witchcraft.

"In short, these wicked devices being contrivances of the devil, to draw men off from trusting in God for health and security and prosperity; we should endeavour that the very knowledge of them, if possible, may be rooted out from among us: That our people may be taught to look up to God, to trust in his goodness and providence, to fear none but Him, and beg His blessing upon their labours, their persons, their goods, and their children, which will be their best security; lest God suffer such mischiefs to befall them for their infidelity, as they are sollicitous to avoid; which was the case of Saul, for 1 Chron. x. 13, it is said expressly that he lost his life for consulting a charmer.

"These considerations, and whatever else you shall think proper to say upon this occasion to your respective congregations, I desire and require you will do it some Lord's day within one month after a copy of this comes to your hands, and as often after as you shall see occasion for so doing; and may the blessing of God attend you and your labours. I am,

"Your affectionate friend and brother,

"THO. SODOR AND MAN."

"To my brethren the Clergy
of the Church of Man, these."

It is a sort of coincidence, that a very few weeks before the Bishop had had to deal in the same way, of mixed civil and ecclesiastical jurisdiction, with the one other crime for which that process was appointed by the laws of the island. A person of Kirk Malew was charged with an abominable insult to a young woman; the Bishop impannels a jury of six (one of whom refuses to act and is committed) who report, as in the case of sorcery, that there is not ground for a capital indictment, but that he must be left to the Church Court; and the Bishop, Jan. 12, decrees imprisonment and penances,—a fatherly discipline, which (one may be excused for imagining) may sometimes have answered better than mere discharge, where the crime is not proved though the sin is; or than mitigated penalty on conviction of the minor offence, which is all that our laws have usually provided in

such cases. The Bishop, it must be remembered, made a point of seeing the penitent if he could, and of judging for himself whether or no the penance had been sufficient and effectual. If something of the kind could be connected with our reformatories, it may be their work would not be less thoroughly done.

The next act shews us the discipline interfering with the ordinary troubles of a godless home. A sottish husband and his railing wife, (not of the lowest rank, for he is called *Mr.* Wm. Tyldesley,) are commended to the especial oversight of the Churchwardens of Kirk Arbory, who are to

"make diligent inquiry into their behaviour, and inform the Court how they demean themselves: that we may upon their persisting in this wicked course of life proceed to make them sensible of their danger by the severity of ecclesiastical censures. . . Of all which publication is to be made the next Lord's Day, that the Churchwardens may take notice that they are chargeable with the observance of this injunction, and that they may expect to be severely prosecuted if they neglect to present such offenders according to the tenor of the oath administered to them."

This is signed by the Bishop and Vicar-General Walker, April 8, 1713. As we hear no more of the parties, we may hope that all went well.

Along with this unwearied labour in his courts, he had accomplished, since his return to the island in July, 1711, two works in which he was much interested. The first, for Kirk Arbory just mentioned, concerning which his memorandum is:—

"Kirk Arbory Vicarage House, A.D. 1712. I supplied the cure of souls by the neighbouring clergy, and applied the incomes towards building a new house; with this, and what I begged and gave myself, viz. £2 10s., and with the assistance of the parish, we have erected one of the best houses in the diocese."

Life of Sherlock.

The other work of that year was the biography of his uncle, Dr. Sherlock, which he finished and sent to the bookseller, who was about reprinting "The Practical Christian," Sept. 23, 1712. It came out prefixed to the sixth edition of that admirable book, under the title of "A Short Account of the Author of the following Devotions." Very brief it is, but very precious; for choice of materials, and

CHAP. IX. terse and effective handling, not unworthy perhaps to be compared with Isaac Walton himself, and in accuracy of narrative, I suppose, superior to him.

Seventh Voyage to England.

The summer of 1713 Bishop Wilson spent in England; for what purpose we are left to conjecture. That it must have been a very pressing and rather sudden call may be gathered from his own brief memoranda concerning it: "May 17, 1713. After preaching at Ballaugh, I went on board Capt. Fr. Leigh, and landed at Hylake after 13 Houres." May 17 in that year was a Sunday, the Sunday after Ascension Day; and Whitsuntide, besides its peculiar sanctity, was a time at which it was particularly inconvenient for a Bishop of Man to be absent from his diocese, the Thursday in that week being the canonical day for the Convocation. What could have happened to withdraw him just then, and keep him away so long? It could hardly have been any London business, for the notes on his sermons now preserved in Sion College shew that on nine of the eighteen Sundays during which he remained in England he was preaching in his old neighbourhood, either at Warrington or Winwick, or in some place within reach of them; and those Sundays occur at intervals, so as to leave no time for any considerable visit elsewhere.

A clue to the right explanation may be found, I suspect, in the memorandum which marks his return. "Sept. 13, 1713[e]," (which was also a Sunday, the fifteenth after Trinity,) "I preached [at] Wallysee" (now Wallasey, just opposite Liverpool, at the mouth of the Mersey;)—"landed (with Col[l]. Stanley) at Derby Haven, 17" (hours). This Col. Stanley must have been Charles Stanley, the fourth and youngest son of Earl Charles; who seems to have lived with his mother at Lathom until her death, and afterwards to have continued his residence there, serving his country occasionally in the legislature; for he sat in divers parliaments of Queen Anne for Preston and Lancashire. This gentleman had now become presumptive heir to the title and estates of the house of Derby; for his brother, having in 1709 married Mary daughter of Sir William Morley, of Halnaker in Sussex,

[e] MS. ii. 57.

had only one son, who had died three months old. So that hardly any one could be more interested in Manx affairs, or fitter to represent the Lord of Man in his island on any grave occasion. Accordingly he had been appointed Governor on the 18th of the preceding July, with Captain Alexander Horne for his deputy,—a name but too familiar to all who have looked into Bishop Wilson's history. CHAP. IX.

Mr. Mawdesley had quitted the island, having on the 20th of May (three days from the Bishop's departure) sworn in John Parr, Deemster, as his deputy. We have no direct information as to the cause of his departure. Ostensibly it might be only a summons to deliberate on the new aspect of the Customs' affairs. But it soon issued in either resignation or dismissal. In July, as we have seen, he ceased to be Governor; and as those who are interested in him for Bishop Wilson's sake may like to know what became of him, I will mention what I have been able to ascertain. He took up his abode at his proper home, Mawdesley, a township of Croston, near Ormskirk, and seems to have continued there as long as he lived, quietly doing his duty as a country gentleman. He attended the Easter parish meeting at Croston for the first time in 1714, and every Easter afterwards to April 20, 1731. His death was registered there March 31, 1732[f].

We find Col. Stanley on Sept. 25, ten days and no more after his landing with the Bishop, at a Court of Tynwald holden in Castle Rushen, the same which passed the Act before mentioned, repealing the restraints which the insular body had in 1711 imposed on the contraband trade in hope of obtaining free trade with England. The first names subscribed to this Act are "C. Z. Stanley; Tho. Sodor and Man." We may conclude with some certainty that it was the grievance about the Customs which took the Bishop over to England so suddenly and at so short an interval, and that the measure (which has been already spoken of at large) was agreed upon between him and the Earl, as it had been no doubt loudly called for by the people of the island.

Commencement of

But over and above this, it is likely that he had become by this time aware of a change in the Lord of the Isle's

[f] This information I owe to the kindness of the present Rector of Croston, the Rev. S. Master.

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disputes with the Civil Power.

mind. He doubtless knew of Mawdesley's summons to England, which had just then taken place, and could not but look forward with anxiety to the substitution of another Governor for the friend with whom he had gone on in mutual and most cordial support all along from the Act of Settlement, now for more than ten years. It is said, but I know not on what contemporary authority, that the Earl had been greatly disappointed at the financial results of that measure, and dissatisfied with the bargain which the Commissioners had made for him: in which case he would naturally throw the whole blame on the Bishop, as being confessedly the doer of the work.

Some feeling of this sort may perhaps have occasioned the dispute, which had some time since arisen and was now waxing keener, between the Bishop and Mr. Rowe, who, as Comptroller and Deputy Governor, was then the second temporal person in the island, concerning the right of the Bishop to mitigate the fines which from time to time were laid on offenders by the Spiritual Courts, all of which were levied *in usum Domini*. The importance attached to these fines as a source of revenue shews by the way rather forcibly the wide reach and constant action of the Church's criminal law. The Bishop, in a letter to Mr. Rowe, March 8, $17\frac{13}{14}$, says, "'Tis now near 16 yeares since you began a question touching this right:" that is, in 1698, within the first year of his episcopate. But the reviving and pressing it at this time looks like an earnest of further opposition to be expected. The Bishop in that letter goes on to state, for the most part *verbatim*, what is contained in the following paper, dated March 16, and certified by the Registrar to have been next day delivered "to Mr. Comptroller Rowe in his office, by my Lord Bishop, in presence of the Governor [Horne] and the Attorney General:"—

"*March* 16, 1713.

"I was surprised, as well as all that heard it, when the right of the Ordinary to mitigate forfeited fines according to the ability and penitence of offenders first came to be made a question. However, that I might not continue a power which, as was alledged, we had not by law, or create a misunderstanding betwixt the ecclesiastical and temporal courts, which must always be of evil consequence to government, I consulted the laws both statute and

customary; I consulted the records both temporal and spiritual. And upon the whole, the laws, the custome ever since we had records, and for aught appears to the contrary, ever since we had laws, and our oaths to act according to these, do all oblige us to act just as we do. And the last time this matter was fully heard before the Governor and two Deemsters, Mr. Comptroller Rowe seemed to have nothing to say against what was then produced out of the records for above a hundred years past, but only told the Governor that he would take farther time to consult the records. In the mean time, the law is suspended, offenders grow daily bolder, and my Lord is a considerable loser; and yet not one precedent produced, that ever the Ecclesiastical Court returned the fines without first mitigating them. Nay, the mischiefs are so apparent of putting the mitigation of fines (and especially of bonds which are only given *in terrorem*) into any hands but those of the Ordinary, who best knows the condition and penitence of offenders, and is sworn to be merciful as well as just,"—(he probably refers to the Consecration Office: "So minister discipline that you forget not mercy,")—"that the laws and practice must ever stand as they do, until the welfare of the people shall cease to be the end of government. I have desired my Register to set down underneath the several laws and precedents which, out of many more, do shew why we cannot depart from our present practice without new laws to indemnify us."

This, of the fines, might be one difference among many. But indeed, seeing how little sympathy could ever have really existed between them, the wonder is that the Bishop and the Earl should have gone on so long in tolerable amity. It could hardly have been so, but that they saw so little of each other. This Earl James, we are told[g], had never visited the island, nor had there been any intercourse between him and the Bishop since their conferences on account of the Act of Settlement.

Add to this the fact of the Earl's rapid alienation from Wilson, which broke out so soon after this and continued through the whole of his remaining life, and it may seem probable that the sudden voyage we are speaking of was undertaken partly with a view of keeping things together, and reviving mutual friendliness. We are not indeed told that the Bishop was at Knowsley or Lathom, but we have

[g] Waldron, Description of the Isle of Man, p. 96.

CHAP. X. seen that he was probably the whole time in that neighbourhood.

His repeated embarkation on a Sunday may seem strange, especially as he afterwards dealt severely with Manxmen fishing on that day; but it must be borne in mind, first, that there were no packets in those times, and persons wishing to make the passage had to watch for any chance merchantman, and must accommodate themselves to its time: secondly, that then, as even now, there was a strong traditional impression among mariners, that of all days in the week Sunday is the best for setting sail. The Bishop, we may be sure, had little or no choice.

It appears incidentally from the record of a trifling spiritual cause—a farmer censured for impounding a vicar's horses when employed in gathering the tithe in kind, under pretence of their cropping his grass—that the Bishop and his trusted counsellor, Walker, were together at Castletown two days after his return from England; and doubtless they had full conference on this trying affair of the Customs.

CHAPTER X.

PROGRESS OF THE DISCIPLINE.—THE GOVERNOR DISCONTENTED. 1714, 15.

He found some very sad work awaiting him in the Courts. From Lezaire a most frightful case of deliberate and continued incest between a brother and sister, which had been dealt with as far back as Dec. 4, 1712. An order was then made to separate them, and exclude them from entering any church for three years, during which they were to stand every Sunday at the church doors of the parishes where they were severally to reside, during the whole of Divine Service. Disobeying this "wholesome order," they were excommunicated at Kirk Michael, April 30. And now they are presented by their Vicar, Mr. Allen, who reports:—

"At my coming to this parish I found them in this dismal condition. I earnestly admonished them, but with difficulty, because of their industriously avoiding my presence, and slighting the advice of such serious persons as I had employed to persuade them

to come to me. After all I find them both very unconcerned, and continuing together in their father's family."

Their sentence, Oct. 29, is, to be committed

"to Peel Castle, the one to St. German's close prison, the other to some other close room, such as the Constable shall appoint, from whence they are to be delivered, body and goods, to the Lord of the Isle, according to the custom of this Church in these important and extraordinary cases."

Observe by the way that the Bishop had in the castle other rooms at his command, besides that technically known by the name of his prison. And this does away with a difficulty which many might feel, in comprehending how the one room—the crypt under the chancel of the cathedral—which tradition points out as the ecclesiastical prison, could have been sufficient for that purpose. He had afterwards to complain of the Governor for interfering with this arrangement.

Within a month, Nov. 20, came before him another shocking case of the same crime, committed by violence,—the sufferer being the man's own daughter-in-law, only sixteen or seventeen years old. The poor woman had kept silence from fear for six or seven years, the man behaving (so the sentence runs) as one "utterly void of the grace of God, and in a manner given over into the power and dominion of Satan." The judges (the Vicars-General sitting with the Bishop) take a tone (as was natural) unlike their usual judicial calmness. "Shall so daring an offender then hope to escape without his deserved punishment? No; the crimes of this dye call for the utmost severity of the law:" which it seems awarded forty days' imprisonment, three years' standing at the church door during the whole of the services both on Sundays and holidays, and in case of contumacy or impenitence to be forthwith excommunicated. "And in the mean time the Vicar (Mr. Norris of Kirk Michael) is required to deal with him after the most Christian methods, to make him sensible of the miserable condition his sins have brought him to, and of the consequence of his continuing under the displeasure of the Almighty: to which God in mercy vouchsafe His grace and blessing."

Ten months after, Sept. 5, 1714, the Vicar and congre-

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gation ask to have the time of exclusion shortened: which the Bishop grants, only that "to deter others and to satisfy this whole Church, he is not to be received into the peace of the Church until he has done public penance in every sheading of this isle, viz. in the churches of Kirk Bride, Kirk Maughold, Kirk Marowne, Kirk Arbory, Kirk German, and Ballaugh." He does so, omitting Kirk Arbory, which the Bishop excepts on account of the distance, the man being old and his wife sick. The clergy in those churches are directed "to exhort this man, and warn their people of the wickedness of these crimes, and of the judgments (if repeated) that they are like to draw down upon this Church and nation." All which must have been the more impressive by reason of the sin finding the man out after so long an interval.

Discipline in the Bishop's own house.

Discipline had about this time again to be exercised in the Bishop's own family. His housekeeper, a certain Mrs. Catherine Crumbleholme, and one of the man-servants, had to clear themselves by compurgation on their knees before the altar of a scandalous report concerning them, for spreading of which two persons, a man and a woman, were censured to do penance and solemnly ask their pardon: and the woman persisting in the scandal, and also making it "a matter of great laughter and ridicule that the Lord Bishop, who she said was so severe in punishing others, had now occasion to exercise his authority in his own family,"—drew upon herself an additional penance. Unhappily it appeared afterwards that there was but too much ground for suspicion, so far as the housekeeper was concerned. The Bishop's name, for obvious reasons, does not appear as a party to the sentence; nor yet in the subsequent papers relating to what took place in his family. They run all in the names of the Vicars-General only, Curghy and Walker. The substance of them may be as well stated here, although in anticipation of the order of time. At the end of three full years, the same Mrs. Crumbleholme continuing to be the Bishop's housekeeper, report was again very busy with what was going on in his family; the more so, as by that time the beginnings were felt of something like organized

opposition to the discipline: and "his Lordship," say the Vicars-General, "justly considering both the sinfulness and scandal of suffering his own servants to evade the Church's censures, while other offenders met with condign punishment, resolved that nothing should be wanting on his part towards bringing the guilty among them to a due sense of their wickedness." Orders therefore being given for the strict examination and admonition of the pair first charged, Philip Cottier and Isabel Banks, they still insisted on their innocence, and "thereupon were admitted on St. Andrew's Day, 1716, to clear themselves upon oath, before they went off the island." "Whether"—so the record proceeds—"by so doing they have injured their own souls or not, is not yet certainly known." This was on February 16, but by Oct. 19 it was too certainly known that they had perjured themselves, "though they were both in the most Christian and affecting manner admonished of the danger of perjury, and exhorted to a confession of their sins: .... the woman being then with child: by which means both are become liable to the heavy judgments of God, and to the just and deserved censure of His Church." But the man, Philip Cottier, had voluntarily returned to the island, "out of a real sense" (so it was hoped) "of his miserable condition, and in order to give glory to God, and to take shame to himself." Nay more—he had voluntarily undergone already his imprisonment in St. German's. Therefore his censure is relaxed; instead of doing penance in all the churches of the island, and standing at the four market-crosses, his penance is limited to the churches of the north side, including Kirk Maughold, and to one hour's standing, at the height of the market, at the cross of Peel, with a label on his breast intimating his crimes of fornication and perjury. The incumbents "to deal with him as in their Christian prudence they see proper, and give certificates;" which was done accordingly. In this instance, though compurgation failed, the discipline on the whole acted well.

And the same may be said even of the other sad affair going on at the same time in the episcopal family: that of Catherine Crumbleholme before-mentioned. It appears that this woman, as persons specially entrusted and abusing their

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trust are apt to do, had become utterly reckless both for herself and for others: so that on the same day on which Cottier and Banks were admitted to purgation, she and another of her fellow-servants, Zachary Gaskill by name, did of their own accord, without any accusation laid against them, desire that they also might exculpate themselves in the same way: which was allowed, and they took their oath with all appearance of sincerity: but "with a seared conscience," as after became evident, by her bearing a child in the ensuing February or March, and declaring Gaskill to be the father of it.

"And not only so, but the said Catherine, with an uncommon degree of obduracy, lately presumed to come to the Holy Sacrament in the chapel of Castletown; and even in the pangs of her travail still endeavoured to smother guilt, by an utter disowning of her being (even then) with child.

"For these enormous and flagrant crimes committed and remorselessly persisted in contrary to light and knowledge, and to the most Christian instruction and example of our excellent Lord Bishop, (for whose primitive zeal and piety this whole Diocese have reason to praise God,) she is censured" to fourteen days close confinement, to public penance in all the churches, beginning at Castletown, "where she approached the Lord's Table under the load of her crimes; and to stand at the crosses of the four towns with a schedule of her crimes on her breast; and in each church to make solemn confession, and ask pardon of God and all good Christians: which we ardently pray she may obtain to the salvation of her immortal soul."

The same censure was decreed for Gaskill, (who had gone to England,) if he should after be found in the isle.

The result was that the woman evaded the censure, finding means, before she had performed any part of it, to make her escape, first to Ireland and afterwards to Liverpool, and that "by the advice and assistance of some who are enemies to the discipline of our Church." At Liverpool Gaskill met and married her.

"Since which," says the Bishop in his official letter, "we have not been wanting to let them both know the extreme danger they were in: of which the said Zachary Gaskil being convinced, did of his own accord return unto the island, and underwent the censure aforesaid with great submission and a behaviour becoming one

sensible of so great a crime; after which he was received into the peace of Christ's Church according to the solemn form for receiving penitents established in this Church."

All this the Bishop's registrar, Mr. Woods, details in the Bishop's name and by his command in "Letters Testimonial" to the Registrar of Chester Diocese, "pursuant to the discipline of this and the Primitive Church." His conclusion is:—

"The said Catherine still continuing obstinate, and bound by the Church censures, I am commanded to give you notice thereof; she being now (as we are informed) with her said husband at Haydock in the parish of Winwick, . . . that she may not be permitted to communicate with the rest of the faithful, until she shall be convinced of her sin, have made satisfaction for the scandal she has made, and be duly absolved."

This is dated at Castletown, Aug. 30, 1718, signed by the Registrar and sealed by the Bishop. It produced, at the end of three months, Nov. 24, an Injunction from "Francis [Gastrell] by Divine permission Bishop of Chester . . . to the Reverend and Honourable Henry Finch, Rector of Winwick, . . . or in his absence to the several curates of the parish," reciting the substance of Bishop Wilson's "testimonial," and admonishing the clergy to debar the woman from communion until she had been duly absolved. This paper is in the Episcopal Registry at Kirk Michael, preserved by his express orders. He and Bishop Gastrell must have been friends of long standing, and certain to feel sympathy with each other on a point of this kind. What the effect was on the two women we are not told. But it is something to know that the man in each of these two cases gave such a token of earnest repentance, as of his own free will to return to the island, in order to perform his penance. The Bishop's discipline, whether at home or in church, cannot be called useless, resulting in such fruits: especially as care was taken not to make too much of them, the mitigation of Gaskill's sentence on his submission being thus charitably and guardedly expressed:—

"The Court thinks fit to compassionate his condition, and in some measure to relax the foregoing censure, in hopes that since God has so far touched his heart as to be willing to take shame to

CHAP. X. himself, he may yet, by the conversion thus begun, be recovered from the snares of the devil."

The termination of this affair must have been a great relief to the Bishop, to whom this scandal in his own household had been a trouble now for several years. And in another way: for the expulsion of that wretched woman made room for a most exemplary person, of gentle birth, and of a deep sense of Christian duty; of whom in 1740 he wrote thus in a letter to his son:—

"Mrs. Heywood gives you her humble thanks and service. She is certainly the discreetest and most careful body that ever man had: which, together with her fidelity and piety, has made her a real blessing to me these twenty-three years past[h]."

A letter from Bishop Hildesley to Mr. Philip Moor, before quoted, shews incidentally on what terms this lady resided at Bishop's Court. "I suppose my predecessor was for some time alone, *after Mrs. Heywood died.*" She was the daughter of a former Governor, Robert Heywood, who held the office under Earl William from 1678 to 1691; another instance probably of the importation of a Lancashire name and family into the island by appointment of the Stanleys.

Returning to the records of $17\frac{13}{14}$, we find (as might be expected) the Bishop with Dr. Walker taking unusually severe measures for the repression of the shameful sin which was now invading his own household. As Lent draws on, three noticeable cases occur. Feb. 6, a parishioner of Walker's is sentenced at a Court in Ballaugh Church as

"having so far given himself up to a licentious and wicked course of life, as to have been guilty of fornication with three several women; a sin of a very heinous nature, and requiring a severe course of penance. In order therefore to make him sensible of this wickedness, and serious and sober, and of a chaste conversation for the time to come," he is committed for forty days, and gives security to stand at Jurby Church door during Divine Service for a whole year: .. "after which if his penitent behaviour, and the tenor of his life, and sober conversation shall deserve it, we will willingly and cheerfully grant him absolution, and receive him into the communion of the faithful. And we pray God that this censure may have that good effect upon him that is designed by it."

[h] Cruttwell, Life, p. xlix.

Feb. 10, Ash-Wednesday, Wm. Christian of Jurby is charged, 1, with being the father of a base child by a woman of the same place; 2, with having instigated her to commit perjury by "swearing the child" to another person. She, however,—

"out of a sense of guilt and fear of God's further displeasure, came to our chapel at Bishop's Court on the Lord's Day about eight weeks ago," [on the Sunday before Christmas,] "and there made a voluntary and free confession of her heinous sin of perjury, and of the diabolical methods which he used to hurry her into it. All which he (out of the pitch of wickedness and hardness to which he is arrived) utterly denies, and persists in his impenitence, though he was present when the man whom he had falsely accused made his purgation, whereas he, Christian, could find no vouchers for himself. There being moreover this further aggravation to his wickedness, that (according to a rumour which the Court has great reason to believe) he has debauched several other women.

"We do therefore, In the Name of our Lord Jesus Christ, excommunicate him, the said Wm. Christian, and declare him utterly separated from the society of God's holy Church, and we require that all our Clergy signify to their several congregations that none presume to keep him company, under penalty of the same sentence, and that he is not to be admitted into any place of God's worship during this dreadful censure, from which he cannot expect any release till his serious and bitter repentance shall deserve it."

The good fruit of this sentence was not long in shewing itself. By May 20, (Whitsun Thursday,) "At our annual Convocation at Bishop's Court," the Clergy make a minute, "that Wm. Christian of Jurby, who was lately excommunicated, shall be permitted to undergo a voluntary penance in such churches as the Lord Bishop shall appoint, in order to be restored to the peace of the Church: and in the meantime that the child which Catherine Kermod bore to him be maintained by him as long as she has nursed it:"—in pursuance of the law which divides such burdens between the offending parties. And on June 18 following, the Bishop wrote to Mr. John Christian, Vicar of Jurby, inclosing a petition from the delinquent, in which he confesses himself to be moreover an adulterer, and acknowledges that he has

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worthily deserved all that he has undergone since the beginning of Lent in the dreadful and dangerous state of an excommunicate. "Through the great mercy of God, and your Lordship's means, he has now," he says, "a feeling sense" of his sin; for which he attests "his Reverend Pastor, the Churchwardens, and all honest neighbours,... hoping, by the grace of God, never to relapse."

"He therefore submissively implores for Christ's sake that your Lordship may vouchsafe to receive him again into the congregation of Christian people; and that prayers may be made to God for him that he may ever have a continual dread of His judgments to fall upon him for his sinful actions, being willing to undergo all the punishment your Lordship shall think fit to impose upon him, so that he may obtain your Lordship's admittance to the society of well-disposed people."

I have recited so much of this petition, because it appears to have given more satisfaction to the Bishop than almost any other which has been recorded. It seems that William Christian waited on him personally with it, and that an interview ensued, in which the Bishop convinced himself of his sincerity: he might have been in special intercourse with him before, since it is alleged, that "by your Lordship's means" the petitioner came to a better mind. And one may imagine him greatly touched by the man's asking "that prayers may be made to God for him, that he may ever have" —not peace and comfort in his mind, but—"a continual dread of God's judgments." For whatever cause, he lost no time in transmitting the petition to Mr. John Christian, then Vicar of Jurby, with the remarks and directions following:—

"*June* 18, 1714.

"Mr. Christian,—It was with great satisfaction that I received the annex'd petition; and that which added to my joy was that the petitioner appear'd to me to be under a deep sense and conviction of his guilt, and resolved no longer to despise the censures of the Church, or to elude those methods which were made use of to reclaim him from his wicked ways. He assures me by word of mouth, as well as by this petition, that he will undergo any censure we shall think fit to appoint, in order to satisfye the Church of Christ, that he is become truly sorry for his sin against God, as well as for the scandal he has given all good people, and that he

will perform his censures after such a manner as shall, he hopes, satisfye all people of his sincerity.

"If therefore he shall, with a humility becoming a true penitent, observe the following directions, he shall be receiv'd again into the Church's communion, and be treated by us, and by all Christians, as if he had never offended.

"It must be your part to satisfye him that his offence having given great scandal, it was necessary he should acknowledge it after a very publick manner. And I do require it of you, that you inquire very diligently after his behaviour, not only now, and while he is under the censures of the Church, but ever after, as long as he shall live under your care: for be well assur'd, if these methods fail to bring people to a due sense of themselves, they despise one of the last means of grace which God affords sinners for their conversion. I pray God bless you in your endeavours for this man's salvation, and remain your affectionate freind and brother,

"Tho. Sodor and Man."

"The petitioner Wm. Christian, before he can be received into the peace of the Church, must observe these following directions:—

"He must go to the several churches, and upon the days hereafter mention'd, and in penitential habit and manner, beseech the rector or vicar, as he goes into the church to morning service, as followeth:—

"'I pray you, for Christ's sake, to satisfy your congregation, that I am sensible of and grieved for my great offence against God and man, and particularly for having been a wicked instrument in perswading a poor woman, whom I had debauch'd, to perjure herself, and to father her child unjustly upon an innocent man. I heartily ask yours and all good Christians' pardon, and am resolv'd, by the grace of God, to become a new man.'

"After which he shall wait at the church door in the same habit and manner till after morning service, when the rector or vicar shall bring him an answer, and a certificate in writing to be returned to me, that I may proceed to absolve him, if I shall find cause, and restore him to the peace of the Church.

"The churches and days appointed are:—

"At Bride, Sunday the 20th of this instant June; at Maughold, the 27th; at Christ Lezaire, July 4th; at Andreas, July the 11th; at Michael, July 18th; at Ballaugh, July 25th.

"And the Sunday following, if he brings certificates of his worthy behaviour, he shall be received and absolved in his own parish church. Dated at Bishop's Court, this 18th of June, 1714.

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Then follow the certificates, that from Ballaugh especially stating that the penitent behaved himself "with a becoming seriousness, humbly confessing" his crimes, "with his long and stubborn opposition to the godly admonitions given him: all which, it is hoped, will obtain him the blessing of being received into the communion of the faithful, as is desired by the congregation and by Wm. Walker."

The Bishop forwards the certificates to the Vicar of Jurby, with a public and a private letter; the first to be read in church.

"*Bishop's Court, July* 28, 1714."

"Mr. Christian,—Since this person has behav'd himself so penitently under the censures of the Church, and so many good Christians, being perswaded of the sincerity of his repentance, desire that he may be restor'd to the fellowship and communion of saints, it is our duty, after the example of Christ, joyfully to receive him, and to restore him in the spirit of meekness, Gal. vi. 1. I do therefore, by the authority of God and my holy office, and in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, declare him to be free from the bonds of the Church; desiring and requiring you, on the next Lord's Day, to receive him into communion, according to the Form appointed by this Church for Receiving Penitents. And forasmuch as the good fruits of his repentance, under the grace of God, depend very much upon your care and concern for him, I do beseech you, for Christ's sake, our great Master, that you will often and seriously exhort him to remember his resolutions, and promises of amending his life. That you would diligently enquire whether his future behaviour be answerable to his present declarations; and particularly you are to observe whether he constantly attends the church, and makes use, at home, of those prayers which the Church has provided to keep up the fear of God and the face of religion in private families. The comfort you will have in doing this consistently will excuse me from using any more argument to perswade you. I do therefore recommend you and your labours to the grace and blessing of God.

"Tho. Sodor and Man."

"To the Reverend Mr. Christian,
Vicar of Jurby."

"*July* 28, 1714.

"Dear Brother,—You'll see, by the inclos'd papers, what methods have been taken to bring this person, William Christian, to a sense of his crimes. The manner of receiving him into communion, besides what you are directed in the form for receiving penitents,

must be as followeth. He must stand at the church door during the whole service, in penitential habit and manner.

"Sermon being ended (which ought to be suited to the occasion), first read his petition, then my first letter to you, then all the annex'd certificates, and last of all my order declaring his excommunication to be taken off; all which should be done very distinctly, and in the mother tongue.

"After which (the clerk attending you) go to the great door and lead the penitent into the church by the right hand; then going very leasurly before him, repeat most distinctly and devoutly the 32nd Psalm—*Blessed is he whose unrighteousness is forgiven, &c.*

"Then proceed with the Form above-mentioned for receiving penitents, until you come to these words—*May the gracious God give you repentance unto life eternal, &c.*, before you say these words, you are to use this following form, (the person humbly kneeling): —

"By the authority of God, and our Lord Jesus Christ; By my holy office and the power committed to me by the governours of Christ's Church, I do declare thee to be free from the sentence of excommunication wherewith thou hast been bound, In the Name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. Amen.

"Then say the prayer above-mentioned,—*May the gracious God*, and proceed with the Form for Receiving Penitents. And let all these papers be returned to me, that they may be put on record.

"*Aug.* 1, 1714.

"This day Wm. Christian has, according to the above appointment of our Right Rev. Diocesan, been received into the communion of the faithfull,

"By Jo. CHRISTIAN, Vicar of Jurby."

William Christian might have been encouraged in his submission, so far as it was voluntary, by the way in which the Bishop had just before received a like application from another offender. A certain woman whose name is not on record having been imprisoned by sentence of the Court, the partner of her sin, one Richard Fox of Kirk Malew, did of his own accord surrender himself on the Tuesday before Palm Sunday, and from his prison petitioned the Bishop, alleging his

"deep sense of his sins, for which he had undergone confinement in this place sooner, but that the woman with whome he transgressed was imprisoned here the last week, and therefore he deferred his coming hither till her inlargement. He humbly begs

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your good Lordship to grant his releasement also, and to allow him to make his penitent confession this next Lord's Day, and on the Annunciation, and that your Lordship will be graciously pleased to dispense with the sheet, and if his contrite behaviour shall meritt so great a favour, to order his admission into the peace of the Church on Good Fryday; that he may partake of the blessed Sacrament on Easter-day."

This was backed by the following note from the Governor:—

"*Peele Castle, March* 18, 1713.

"My Lord,—Richard Fox came to this place last Tuesday morning, and has continued every day since a close prisoner, making it his choice as well as duty to stay there to afflict himself for his sin, and as farr as I perceive imployed himselfe there in reading all this time. He has given security for the performance of the remainder of his censure.

"I am,

"Your Lordship's most humble servant to command,

"JOHN STEVENSON."

"Postscript, March 20th. He is yett in Prison."

The reply was:—

"To Capt. John Stevenson, Constable of Peel Castle.

"Sir,—I am very well satisfy'd with the contents and truth of your certificate touching Richard Fox, and therefore I desire you'll release him from his confinement, he giving bonds, as usual, to perform his censure, and paying fees."

"To the Reverend Mr. Woods, Vic^r^ of K. Malew, &c.

"Sir,—The petitioner's behaviour, both before and since he came under the censures of the Church, has been such as gives us great reason to believe he is truly convinc'd of his errors. I am therefore inclined to shew him all the indulgence I can believe is consistent with the discipline which is now establish'd in this Church. To dispense with the sheet I cannot, for many reasons. But if he performes his penance on Thursday next (being the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin) as becomes a true penitent, and to the satisfaction of the faithful, I desire he may be received into the peace of the Church before Easter, that as he desires, he may then receive the blessed Sacrament.—Bishop's Court, March 21, 1713."

Charge on Exactness in Discipline, 1714.

The Whitsuntide convocations, so frequently intermitted of late by reason of the Bishop's unavoidable absences in England, were renewed this year, May 20; and he delivered

a weighty Charge, his leading topics being such as might be expected from the sad details which have been just given. CHAP. X.

"I am sorry that I must observe to you, that for some circuits past we have met with more offenders than usual, and some of them guilty of very scandalous crimes. Now, though a clergyman cannot always help this, let him be never so careful in the discharge of his duty; yet, if a man is not conscious to himself that he has plainly and affectionately forewarned his people of the guilt and danger of such sins and of the way to avoid them, I cannot see how he can clear himself from being in some sense the cause of these wickednesses.

"I wish I had not reason to observe to you, that some have been suffered to perform their censures after so careless a manner, without being heartily applied to or made sensible of their danger, that the censures of the Church become rather an occasion of offence than of edification.

"You will all agree with me, that to receive offenders into the peace of the Church, without their giving at least outward signs of repentance, is the sure way to harden and ruin them. For God's sake, let this be seriously thought of for the future.

"Another cause, I am afraid, of these growing vices is this: That sufficient care has not been taken to recommend family prayers. How should we expect that all sorts of vices should not abound in families, where God is not owned, nor His graces asked for?

"I cannot but observe further, that some crimes, and such as are the cause of many others, are never presented. Drunkenness, for instance; Is this no sin? or is it a sin not worth taking notice of? Are such people kept from the Sacrament, and notice given to the Ordinary as the rubrick directs? This would discourage that vice, and some others, most effectually. And then, if hearty pains were taken in private with offenders, and before they appear before the congregation to own their sins, they would perform their censures so as to affect others as well as themselves.

"And sure it were far better that people were kept longer under censure, than to admit them before they are truly sensible of the reason of their censures, and the benefits they may reap by them. To what purpose have we made excellent constitutions, and have revived, in some measure, the primitive discipline of the Church, if we do not take care to see it administered according to the true intent thereof?

"Another means of preventing growing vices would be for the

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clergy to take care that the schools be taught as they should be: That the children be duly catechised, and made to understand the meaning of what they are taught, which cannot be done so well as it ought to be without considerable pains, and patience, and condescension to the capacities of young and ignorant people.

"I could give you instances of the good effects of such instruction, and of some people who are remarkably sober, honest, conscientious in their ways; which is owing to the blessing of God upon such an instruction.

"The great care that is taken abroad of children's education will oblige us to follow so worthy an example, and will oblige me in my visitations to enquire very particularly who is, and who is not, careful to discharge this duty conscientiously. There are some parishes to which I have not been called to confirm the children for three years past. Will anybody pretend that there are none in such parishes, that in so long a time ought to have been fitted for Confirmation? This is what must be mended indeed!

"And I do once again repeat, what I have formerly declared publickly, that if I shall find any persons admitted to the Sacrament, to matrimony, or to stand sureties for others, who have not been confirmed, I must proceed against such as despise that part of our constitutions with ecclesiastical censure. And I do require that the registers of every parish be brought to us in our Michaelmas circuit, every year for the future, that we may see who does not observe this constitution.

"I have been at the charge of purchasing for every parish a Book of excellent Devotions, which I do most earnestly recommend to your practice. I know from experience, that a clergyman, whose heart is not possessed with a good share of true piety, can never go about, nor go through, the duties of his calling with any sort of success answerable to the account he must give.

"And because no man, who is not truly concerned for his own welfare, will be much concerned for the salvation of others, I recommend the use of these devotions to those that are not provided with better, as a means of increasing their piety; and that being truly touched with a sense of the value of religion, they may seriously endeavour to propagate it in its truth and power, and not in outward appearance only, and in a formal performance of such things as may be observed without any true piety towards God, or benefit to ourselves.

"This is what I thought proper to be said at this time, that I may always meet my brethren in peace, and that we may all, by a conscientious discharge of our several duties, and through the

favour of God in Jesus Christ, meet in peace hereafter; which God grant we may do." CHAP. X.

The Book of Devotions alluded to is shewn by a memorandum in the register to have been "Dr. Sherlock's Practical Christian, ed. 6. 8°., given by my Lord Bishop one to each of the clergy, Whitsun Thursday, 1714." Doubtless he had an eye to this use of the book in the memoir which he prefixed to it, and he could hardly give a more emphatic sanction to the tone of his "kind and pious uncle's" devotions, and to his general teaching, different as both are in many respects from what was popular in Wilson's as in our own days.

The earnestness, too, with which here and elsewhere he inculcates family prayer, is very characteristic. His own constant practice in that respect has been already mentioned; and (in Mr. Stowell's words[1]) "he was frequent and earnest in his Charges to his clergy to make this a peculiar object of their attention, and to employ all means public and private to accomplish so desirable an end. He frequently recommended the practice in his conversation, and pointed out the numerous benefits which attend it. The first question which he was accustomed to put to his friends when they entered on housekeeping was, 'Have you set up an altar in your house?'"

The hint regarding drunkenness was followed up by an address from the clergy to the Bishop:—

"We, the Vicars-General and the rest of the clergy of your Lordship's diocess of Man, in convocation assembled, do, with deep concern, presume to lay before your Lordship the inconveniences and fatal consequences which attend the unlimited number of alehouses in all parts of this island, whereby many of the people are, of late, become not only tipplers, but also infamous for sottishness and drunkenness, which are sins never to be too much lamented or restrained. It is to this we have great reason to impute the growth of repeated lewdness, and the other odious sins of cursing, swearing, pilfering, and some instances of incest, seldom heard of among our people. Moreover it is evident, that several young persons, and servants, with others whose circumstances will not allow them to misspend their money and time this way, and who would

[1] Ch. v. p. 109.

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scarcely have the confidence to be seen (neither would be harboured) in a regular and creditable publick-house, are encouraged and entertained, in blind ale-houses; whereby the youth, in their immature unthinking years, contract such corrupt habits, as even age and experience will hardly be able to eradicate.

"That therefore a timely stop may be put to these evils and disorders, that the present and succeeding generations may not be involved in these sins, and the consequences of them, and that our exhortations to sobriety and temperance may not be as ineffectual and fruitless, as hitherto they have been, we humbly desire your Lordship to represent this matter to the Honourable Governor, that he may confine the privilege of licences for selling ale to a select number of persons, and that those few may be such as are known to be people of probity and prudence, who will keep good order in their houses, and who will not entertain drunkards, nor seduce youth, not only for fear of the laws, but also out of a principle of conscience. We likewise desire your Lordship to lay before the Governor our Honourable Lord's Order concerning Reformation of Manners."

Mawdesley had by this time ceased to be Governor[j], as we have seen; retaining however a kindly remembrance of the island, for in the account of offerings at the consecration of the new church of St. Patrick, about a month from this time, we read, "Madam Dorothy Mawdesley, the late Honorable Governor's Lady, has given a white cloth for the Communion-table." The Governor therefore to whom this matter was to be referred was Captain Alexander Horne: "not of himself an ill man," as the Bishop long after described him, but very unfit for his office on many accounts. They began however, and continued for some time, on very good terms with each other: the Governor and his wife frequently staying at Bishop's Court for days and weeks together[k]. And this illustrates another point much dwelt on by the Bishop's biographers,—his free and cheerful hospitality:—

"He always kept an open hospitable table, covered with the produce of his own demesnes, in a plentiful not extravagant manner. As the friendly host or master of that table he was the

[j] The last public act which bears his name in the Statute-book is dated Jan. 28, $17\frac{13}{14}$. Horne's appears for the first time, May 27, 1714.

[k] Cruttwell, p. xlix.

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most entertaining and agreeable as well as instructive of men; his manners, though always consistently adorned with Christian gravity, were ever gentle and polite; and from his natural sagacity and distinguished erudition he seemed to have the world in his possession. He was the divine, the scholar, and the gentleman[l]." "Every traveller," says Mr. Stowell[m], "was sure of a kind reception at Bishop's Court. The motto prefixed to this publication"

(φίλος δ' ἦν ἀνθρώποισιν·
Πάντας γὰρ φιλέεσκεν, ὁδῷ ἔπι οἰκία ναίων,)

"is peculiarly descriptive of the situation of his house and the qualities of his heart. He acted up fully to his own view of hospitality, that it 'does not consist in making great entertainments, but in providing a sober and suitable refreshment for such as are in want, and for such as come to visit us.' Scarcely any stranger touched on the island who did not find his road to Bishop's Court."

To proceed with the Convocation of 1714: in accordance with the Bishop's remonstrance, an order was made "that the word 'drunkenness' be inserted in the Churchwardens' Charge, in the fourth article, immediately before the words cursing and swearing;" that is, that it should be especially enumerated among the presentable offences. By all accounts, there was and has since been much need of such a specification in the Isle of Man, the condition of the revenue laws especially giving great opportunity for excess in that way.

The Bishop at the same time enforced on the clergy the necessity of receiving the statutable fees from offenders, due both to the Vicars-General and to the parish priests administering the discipline; which they, we may well imagine, were too easily inclined to forego.

Order was also taken in one or two matters touching the public service of God:—

"Forasmuch as a late indulgence in relation to holidays has been shamefully abused; it is ordered that for the future all the Festivals and solemn Fasts of the Church shall be religiously and strictly observed by all persons within this diocese, according to the ancient and laudable custom of this Church, by attending God's public worship, and abstaining from work on those days. And the clergy are to exhort their several congregations to a due observation of these holy seasons, designed for their edification, and so conducive to that end. And this to be discoursed on before the next holiday

[l] Cruttwell, p. xci.

[m] p. 309.

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The indulgence here alluded to may have been allowing the presence of one only from each household as sufficient according to the canon; of which notion traces occur now and then in the records.

He goes on to give them a hint, which shews that they had grown somewhat irregular, as so commonly happens, in the celebration of Holy Baptism:—

"The Lord Bishop has required the clergy to consider the first rubrick before Public Baptism, and to admonish their congregations as they are there directed, and to take such other methods as may be most proper to promote the Baptism of Infants on Sundays and Holidays."

The Bishop at the same time signified his intention to provide without delay "A Form of Prayer to be used by those Clergy who attend the Boats in the Herring Fishery." This was in pursuance of an ancient custom, recognised in the statute-book at least as early as 1610; when it was

"enacted and ordained that the Vicar or Minister of every parish, where the fishing is got[n], repair to the harbour every morning and evening to read Divine Service, and to deliver them good monitions; upon pain of every default to forfeit his tithe of fish the following night. And persons neglecting to come to be excluded from the benefit of the night's fishing[o]."

The "blessings of the seas" had since Wilson's incumbency been in good measure restored to the island after years of signal failure, and no doubt such a service as he provided would be quite in unison with the feelings of the people, who would attribute the mercy in no small measure to his prayers, on the same principle which caused them to delay their harvest until they saw that his was begun. The office as it now stands in his Works was accordingly provided by the 2nd of August, within a fortnight of the usual commencement of the fishing, which is July 16. It resembles the Breviary Services in one respect more nearly than most of our Occasional Offices do—that it consists in good part of a series of short lessons with exhortations, so ordered as to

[n] It seems to mean, "where they get any fishing."
[o] Train, ii. 292, from the Statutes.

vary the subject and keep up the attention, and easily to admit of abridgement or adaptation. This office was commonly used in 1795. Whether it is even now quite obsolete I cannot say.

In the minutes of this Convocation, as elsewhere, it appears that the Bishop occasionally consulted his clergy even on those causes which were strictly within his own province; so far was he from carrying everything, as was sometimes said of him, with a high hand. A case of bigamy was referred to them, and they, not he alone, ordered proceedings to be taken: and as we have seen he waited for their opinion before relaxing the sentence on William Christian. And a question having arisen whether the publication of marriage licenses granted by the Bishop might be without inconvenience dispensed with, (as in England,) he would not rule it in favour of his own prerogative without the consent of his clergy thus assembled.

Consecration of St. Patrick's, with Endowment for Catechising.

The new church of St. Patrick was now ready for consecration—a work very near his heart; but we find him first at Castletown, June 3, taking a step which shews that he was as strict with his inferior officers as with his clergy. In Kirk Arbory, which seems for whatever reason to have been at that time somewhat less civilized than most of the other parishes in the island, one of the four wardens had utterly refused to buy so much wine as was necessary, and expressly required by the Vicar, for the Communion on the preceding Whitsunday, (May 16): "whereby sixteen persons, who designed to communicate that day, went home without receiving the blessed Sacrament." The result was, that he had "to stand with a paper on his breast, signifying his crime, at the four market towns of the island on the Chapter-Court days next ensuing," (for a special warning, no doubt, to the other churchwardens, who would be there in attendance,) "and to be likewise fined at the discretion of the Ordinary." And even his three colleagues, for their supineness in not seeing to the matter, had to make a solemn confession before the congregation.

The consecration at Kirk Patrick took place on St. Peter's-day—the day on which Wilson himself was made deacon,

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and which had been otherwise marked by providential events in his history. At the same time he executed two instruments, one for the protection of the new church, the other for its better and more effectual endowment. The first,—of which however only the rough draft without his signature appears to be now remaining in the Registry,—is of this tenor :—

"To avoid the indecency and disorder attending the interment of the dead in the House of God, and for other good reasons and considerations, it is this day solemnly declared, ordered, and decreed, That no manner of person or persons, upon any pretence whatever, shall ever presume to break the ground in order to inter any corpse within the said church or chancel. And if any shall notwithstanding this decree presume to break ground in the church or chancel abovesaid, neither the Vicar nor any other ordained person shall use the service for the Burial of the Dead, under pain of the severest ecclesiastical censure; and the corpse shall not only be removed into the churchyard, but the offending person shall also for his contempt be excommunicated. We do likewise prohibit every schoolmaster or other person from teaching school in the said church or chancel, under pain of severe ecclesiastical censure, and being for ever incapacitated to teach school within this island."

The other document was intended to secure the due catechizing of the young parishioners :—

"*St. Peter's Day*, 1714.

"To all Christian people, whom these presents may concern, grace, peace, and truth in Jesus Christ—I, Thomas, Bishop of Sodor and Mann [*sic*], having by the favour of God procured a church to be built within the parish of Kirk Patrick, (which parish, for some ages past[P], hath been destitute of such a blessing,) as an acknowledgment of the good Hand of God upon me, do this day of dedication of the said church, offer and freely give the sum of fifty pounds sterling, with the interest thereof, to the said church for ever, obliging myself to pay the sum of three pounds per annum during my life and continuance in this see, or until the said fifty pounds can be securely laid out for the use of the said church; which in case it is not done during my life, or incumbency as aforesaid, I oblige my executors, administrators, and assignes to pay the said sum of fifty pounds into the hands of the Archdeacon

[P] That is, since the Reformation at least: for the new church was built on the ruins of an old Roman Catholic chapel. Feltham, 215.

and Vicars-General for the time being, to be by them laid out for the uses hereafter mentioned, viz. for the use of one lawfully authorized to read prayers and catechize the youth of the said parish every Lord's Day in the afternoon, and upon Holy Days, during the life or incumbency of the Reverend Mr. Matthias Curghy, the present Vicar of the said parish; and also after his death, or other preferment in the Church, to the Vicar of the said parish for ever, as an encouragement to him, to be very diligent in catechizing and instructing the youth of the said parish, as the canon and rubrick require and direct. And may our gracious God grant a blessing upon this my pious design for the edification of His people, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen."

The list of benefactions[q] gives further evidence of the peculiar interest which he, being patron as well as diocesan, took in this, perhaps above all his public works; not only by his appropriating to it a sum of £73 from the arrears of the episcopal revenue during the vacancy, and by his ample gifts from his own private purse,—Communion-table, carpet and rails,—pulpit, reading-desk, clerk's seat, pew for the Vicar's family, - but also by offerings from his private friends, plainly due to their sympathy with him, such as Dr. Walker, Mr. Hooper, (himself an inmate of Bishop's Court,) Mrs. Mawdesley, and Mrs. Murray of Douglas, a relation of the Pattens. Two years afterwards, 1716, he built a new school-house, and succeeded in recovering and restoring to the Church "the glebe anciently belonging to the Vicars of this parish, which had been leased out by Governor Ireland" early in the seventeenth century.

This year, 1714, two events took place in the family of his friend and patroness the Dowager Lady Derby, which must have interested him, both on her account and on that of the island. April 24, her youngest daughter, Lady Elisabeth Stanley, died at the age of 17, and was buried, May 1, in the vault called Ormond's, under the great east window of Henry the Seventh's Chapel in Westminster Abbey—"the place of sepulture for several of that truly noble family[r]." The widowed mother was thus left to keep house alone; or if her eldest and only surviving daughter, Henrietta, Countess of Anglesea, now also a widow, was with her, she also quitted

[q] See note at the end of this chapter.

[r] Dart's Antiquities of Westminster Abbey, pp. 54, 56.

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her in a few months, for she was married a second time, July 24, to John, Lord Ashburnham, by whom she had one daughter, Henrietta; during whose life there was yet a chance of the Isle of Man's continuing in the Derby family.

Instances of Discipline in regard of Marriage.

Lady Derby herself, it will be remembered, was under fourteen years of age when she was married; and it happened curiously about this time that Bishop Wilson's sanction was sought for a like arrangement in humbler life within his own diocese, and was granted perhaps the more easily, from his calling to mind what was done, and by whom, in her case. A paper, dated Bishop's Court, Sept. 21, 1714, and signed by Tho. Sodor and Man and Wm. Walker, sets forth that—

"whereas it is the desire of the parents of Thomas Harrison on the one party, and of Isabel Sherlock on the other, that the said Thomas and Isabel should enter into the holy estate of matrimony, and this for the upholding the tenement of the said Isabel Sherlock, who is left destitute, her own father being long since dead, and her mother and stepfather having lately removed to another parish; notwithstanding the said Isabel is yet a minor and unconfirmed, yet in regard the young man is of sufficient years, and qualified according to the constitutions of this Church, and that his father and mother have obliged themselves to live with the young couple, and to be aiding to them in all their concerns, by which means the heiress and her tenement are likely to be preserved from poverty and ruin; We do for these considerations allow of the intermarriage of the said Thomas Harrison and Isabel Sherlock, provided sufficient security be given that they shall hold themselves as man and wife, and cohabit as such, when the young woman shall arrive at fourteen years of age; to which end the Incumbent of Kirk Christ Rushen, after taking the said security *sub pœnâ* 40^{lb}, is hereby authoriz'd and ordered to solemnize the said marriage; for which, if he observe due time and place, and the other rites and ceremonies prescribed by holy Church, this shall be his discharge. And the said incumbent is to make return of this license and the obligation of the bondsmen to the Episcopal Registry, and to endeavour to fit the said Isabel, so soon as may be, for Confirmation[s]."

The paternal tone of this document is very striking; as

[s] So in 1748, Isabel Corrin of Rushen, aged 16, "being heiress to a small parcel of land, and there being a necessity for her speedy marriage, but she not yet confirmed," the Bishop at the Vicar's request allows her to be married, giving bonds to prepare herself for confirmation in two years' time.

also the great degree of authority which he attributes to the parents in such matters. Many years afterwards—(the exact date of the paper is not given, but from its place in the records it could not be earlier than 1729)—he received the following singular application :—

"To the Right Reverend Father in God Thomas, Lord Bishop of Sodor and Mann.

"The humble petition of Robert Cottier of Castletown,

"Humbly shewes, that your petitioner being near twenty-three years of age, and having set his affections on one Ann M'Nameez, a young woman of modest behaviour in this town, is apprehensive of being disappoynted by the obstinacy of his parents (without whose consent the Vicar of the parish refuses to marry them), they alledging that the young woman is beneath him, and that they are afraid the consequences of his marriage will be pernicious, and such other frivolous objections are offered.

"Wherefore he humbly begs your Lordship may be pleased to appoynt some day this week for the hearing of the matter, that his marriage may not be retarded; and he will ever pray."

One might guess the reply :—

"The petitioner would do well to consider that his parents have a right both by the laws of God and nature to interfere in a matter of so great moment as is the disposal of their child in marriage, and that without their blessing and consent (unless they are very unreasonable indeed) he cannot expect the blessing of God. In the meantime no lycence can be given without consent of parents, and if the banns shall be required to be published, and the marriage come to be solemnized, if then any person makes objections, 'tis the proper time to enquire whether they be frivolous or not. Till then I shall not give his parents any trouble."

Resuming the order of time, we come upon another instance which shews how necessary it was for the Bishop of Man, as for all in Church authority, to look carefully to the working of the marriage laws. Mr. Quayle, Incumbent of Kirk Christ Rushen, had solemnized marriage after ten o'clock at night, in the house of the bride's father, without either banns or licence. On Feb. 18 he is suspended for three years, and an order comes out for his commitment, until further orders, together with the two parties, the bride's parents, and a third person who was present. This is signed by the Bishop only; but is followed immediately by a re-

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laxation of the sentence of imprisonment as to the parents and the other witness, on the ground of surprise and ignorance; in which relaxation the Vicars-General concur. But the sentence of suspension continues, and provision is made for the Church to be served from Kirk Arbory and Castletown. Next comes a humble petition from the Incumbent, (who seems, what I cannot explain, to have been but a deacon,) "conscious to himself how justly he has incurred your Lordship's displeasure by committing a breach of the constitution of one of the best constituted Churches in the world;" professing before God that "he did it not presumptuously or out out of any sinister end;" and "humbly prostrating himself at your Lordship's mercy." The Bishop (March 8) replies:—

"Mr. Quayle,—I shall give orders for your enlargement. But forasmuch as your behaviour when last before the Court was such as did not become one who had broken the orders of the Church in so many and with such aggravating circumstances; and because, too, you intimated that you had some (though not altogether a regular) authority for what you had done, and that you had the example of your superiors to countenance you; therefore before I can give any answer to the other part of your petition, I must oblige you to explain yourself in those particulars, and that publicly; for you cannot be ignorant of the mischief you have done (and very probably design'd) to those that are innocent, by such dark expressions; upon which every body is at liberty to put his own construction. On Wednesday the 16th instant there will be a consistory at Kirk Michael, when, if you think fit, you may give me the satisfaction I require, and then I shall give you a full answer to your petition."

It seems that the necessary explanations were given, for on the day appointed his submission was accepted by the Bishop and Mr. Walker, and he was restored to his office and benefice. A year afterwards the Bishop ordained him priest. This lenity seems to countenance the idea which some of the recorded circumstances suggest, that the whole transaction was rather a profane frolic than a deliberate breach of God's law for gain or any other immoral motive.

Sad indications of the laxity prevailing among the higher class of Manxmen at that date may be found in the following portions of a correspondence relating to the family of one in

high office. Mr. Woods writes thus to the Bishop, from Castletown, Jan. 13, 1714:—

"My Lord,—Mr. Comptroller sayes his daughter cannot make oath of her marriage without incurring the guilt of perjury, being sworn to conceal it for a certain time: for the satisfaction which he has received from her is only by some hints; though he has let me see a letter from Captain Prigent to her, wherein he twice styles himself her husband.

"He further urges, that allowing her to be with child before wedlock, he thinks she cannot be call'd to an account for it here, because the sin must have been committed in Ireland.

"I answer'd that the censures of the Church were not like the punishments of the State, which are generally corporal and sometimes capital; for whilst she professes herself a member of Christ's Church, though she had committed the sin in Japan, when it becomes open and scandalous she is bound to submit to the ecclesiastical censures, and to make a publick confession and renunciation of it; otherwise she makes herself liable to excommunication, and the dreadful consequences of it.

"He desir'd me, at last, to send your Lordship a certificate of what I know of her piety. I have, my Lord, both heard and observed, that she has been very regular and constant in her private devotions, (for so I must charitably interpret her being lock'd up at stated hours); but though this be a plausible circumstance, yet it's no proof of her veracity in giving broad hints that she is really married. For I once knew a female devotee that sojourn'd some years in this town, and none more punctual than she in her closet-devotions: and yet I'm afraid that she vainly flatter'd herself, and was so much buoy'd up with this, that she thought this superficial *opus operatum* alone wou'd atone for a habit of lewdness, and her continuance in a daily course of adultery. But I hope this is not Mrs. Anne's case. Her father has a letter on the anvil, to be sent by a special messenger on Saturday. But the good Governor" [that is, Horne,] "has so just a respect for your Lordship and the discipline exercis'd by you, that he will not suffer her to go off the Island, without your Lordship's express permission."

This produced a letter from the Bishop to the young woman's father:—

"Mr. Comptrowler,—I have seriously consider'd yours, and have reason to be pleas'd with such a testimony of your [daughter's] innocency; yet this is not what the laws of this country or the discipline of the Church can be sattisfied with, for whether [where?]

CHAP. X. there are apparent signes that people have cohabited, [duty and] reason require that they should either manifest their inn[ocence], or confess their guilt and take shame to themselves. As for the oath (she saith) she hath taken, not to own that she is married; 'tis now become utterly unlawfull to be kept, for *now* the question is, whether she ought to dishonour God's Holy Ordinance, bring a perpetual blott upon her reputation, and refuse to obey the laws of the land, or to violate an oath made without reason, and which can now have no good end in the keeping of it, since all the world sees that either she is married or worse. And I dare say you will entirely agree with me in this, if you do but consider what mad work it would make in the world, if such oathes were once allowed to be binding in conscience. Suppose a man for instance should swear that he would not become an evidence in such a cause, or against such a criminal. And I will therefore give her the most faithful advice I am capable of, which is, that if she is indeed married, to make no scruple of owning it to all the world, and to give all the satisfaction the law [requires in such?] cases, and to ask God's pardon for laying [so much stress upon?] foolish vowes, which are not to be kept [without more?] guilt than can attend the breaking them. I need not use more words to convince you that this is what she should do—what is both her interest and her [duty to?] do—if this gentleman is her husband, as he so often [calls?] himself. I am so conscious to myself that I never willingly give any body the least unnecessary trouble, that I hope I need not make any apologys for the orders I gave Mr. Woods, for 'twas what my duty required of me, what tends apparently to your child's good, and what in the end you will approve of yourself; as I hope you will of this from

"Your affectionate Friend and Servant,

"Tho. Sodor and Man."

"Mr. Woods will satisfie you that the Churchwardens in discharge of their oaths have taken notice of the common fame, and have made presentment accordingly, and that we are obliged to give orders pursuant thereunto; and that I have ordered her oath to be taken before two clergymen, without calling her before a Court, or desiring her stay till the Court be holden; this is out of respect to her and you, and if she gives oath that she is married, it do's not concern us to enquire when or by whom, or to give her any further trouble."

The registers of the time are silent as to the issue; but I do not see how under the circumstances a young woman could be more gently dealt with, if there was to be any dis-

cipline at all. There was too clear proof afterwards, as we shall see, that that house was not one for his blessing to rest upon. CHAP. X.

Many cases of voluntary penance.

The system of Church law, as reformed by Wilson, had now been in action ten years, and had come to be well understood and accepted by the people generally: it was of the greatest consequence to go on administering it impartially, and to seem to do so, as between the rich and the poor. The memoranda of two or three years, beginning from this, 1714, shew, I think, the increased hold which his plans and principles were gaining on the island. The cases of satisfactory submission and voluntary penance appear to multiply. Mr. John Garret of Lezaire, for instance, having been censured for adultery, began his penitential course, the prescribed amount of which is not on record, with such marks of real earnestness, that after he had appeared in two churches only, Kirk Maughold and Kirk Michael, the Bishop stayed proceedings, and directed him to be received. The Kirk Michael certificate says, "He performed his penance in our church, the Bishop himself being present, with very great signs of contrition, not only by his humble behaviour in the church, ... but also by his own discourse to me both before and after." The Bishop's testimony to the Vicar of Lezaire is,—

"Brother,—Mr. Garret has given me great satisfaction, not only by the annex'd certificates, but by his behaviour in my presence, both in the Church and in private, that he purposes to lead a new life; in hopes of this I have suspended the remainder of his censure, and do desire that he may, after performing penance on Sunday next, be received into the Church, according to the Form appointed for Receiving Penitents; and he having given me full satisfaction concerning the report that has been whispered about as if he had been the father of Katherine Goldsmith's child, and desireing to satisfye the world, I do desire and empower you to take his oath of purgation on Sunday next in the face of the congregation, and to certifye the same to me, and at the same time to return these papers."

We may hope that this is not the same John Garret whom the Vicar of Lezaire had to repel from the Altar at the ensuing Easter, and to summon before the consistory, for refusing to be reconciled with a neighbour. But if it

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were, this need not prove the Bishop's lenity excessive, since the man at once obeyed the warning, and was reconciled.

Two yet more flagrant cases were dealt with about this time,—the one at its commencement, the other approaching its termination. In both a mode of censure was tried, which not amounting to excommunication, did nevertheless put the parties to the same kind of probation, morally, as if they had been excommunicated. The first in time is the case of Curlett and Keig, — a man of Ballaugh and a woman of Lezaire, — who had relapsed into fornication while under sentence of death in Castle Rushen for the murder of their illegitimate child. After their release (the sentence being commuted) this fresh sin came to light, and they were presented at the Michaelmas circuit, 1714, imprisoned at St. German's, and sentenced to kneel at the church doors of their respective parishes every Sunday and holiday for a long time. They did so all through the winter and spring with such tokens of repentance as warranted their pastors in recommending them for admission to regular penance with a view to absolution: which the Bishop and Vicar-General granted, April 29, 1715. The Bishop's tone in granting it strongly marks his dread of insincerity or levity in such professions, and his wish to impress penitents with a deep sense of their responsibility. As for the woman,—

"She is ordered in the most humble and Christian manner to perform penance in four churches, and the Incumbents are to take especial pains, both in presence of their auditory as also when they give their certificates, to admonish her of the greatness of her guilt if she dissembles with God in her professions of penitence." He adds, "God in mercy open her eyes, to see the things that belong to her eternal peace, and that she may be as exemplary in her conversion as she has given offence by the flagrancy of her crimes."

The sentence on the man urges the same points yet more earnestly, and more at large:—

"John Curlett, of Ballaugh, having both by the Civil and Ecclesiastical Courts of this isle been so long and so rigorously treated, agreeably to the odiousness of his high crimes; and such various kinds of punishments having been inflicted on him as it were to be hoped would be sufficient to awaken the most obdurate sinner; God alone, to whose mercy we commend him through Jesus Christ,

knowing the sincerity of his protestations; and all that is in our power to do, after what the said Curlett has already performed, being to give testimony to the Church as well of our faithful endeavours to recover him from the snares of the Devil, as also of his repeated assurances of becoming by God's grace a real convert: He is therefore ordered to go to the churches following and do penance, and acknowledge the abominable sin for which he is now censured, and likewise humbly to desire the several congregations to pray to the great God in his behalf for the remission of all his sins, and that his soul may be saved in the day of the Lord. The churches in which he is to do penance (it being certify'd that he has been long in prison in St. German's, and kneel'd at the church door for many months) are only these, Kirk Michael, Kirk Andrews, Lezaire, and Ballaugh, where he is to be received into the peace of the Church, if his pastor shall find his behaviour to have given satisfaction, and shall judge him worthy of so great a blessing."

And so, on May 29, Mr. Walker received him,—

"after an humble acknowledgment of his great and crying sins, after a sorrowful prostration of himself before God and His Church, in token of his unworthiness, and after making many solemn vows of being by God's grace highly exemplary in his future conduct." "God Almighty enable him," says the good Rector, "to perform the vows that are upon him! This is the hearty prayer of his in all Christian offices, William Walker."

It may be that from observing the visible good effect of the original censure in this case, while the offender was yet debarred from entering any church, the Bishop was encouraged to try the same course with another grievous criminal, who came before him a twelvemonth after.

"Patrick Crellin of Kirk German, a notorious offender, [having been] found guilty of adultery and fornication four several times, and the Church's severest censures"—excommunication itself, as afterwards appears—"having had no effect upon him; it is thought necessary," say the judges, "to treat him in an uncommon manner, in order to recover him, if possible, from the snares of the Devil, and to save him from perishing eternally." He is therefore "to stand duely in penitential habit at the parish church door every Lord's Day during the time of morning service *for three years*, . . . and is prohibited *ab ingressu in Ecclesiam* during the term aforesaid. And the Blessed Sacrament is not to be administered unto him except *in articulo mortis*. And after the expiration of three

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years, if he shall not produce ample and satisfactory testimonials of his sincere penitence, he is hereby to take notice that he will again incur the dreadful sentence of excommunication, which is a deprivation of his right to the inheritance of God's elect, besides the temporal loss of body and goods to the Lord of the Isle. But in case he shall produce good testimonials, he will be admitted to penance and the other methods of discipline the Church shall think fit to order."

This is dated from Bishop's Court, Feb. 15, $17\frac{15}{16}$, i. e. the Saturday before Lent, and is signed by the Bishop and Vicars-General. As no subsequent excommunication is recorded, we may presume that the penalty had its effect.

Here follows an instance of voluntary submission to penance :—

"*5th Sunday in Lent*, 1715, [*April* 3].

"My Lord,—Cath. Curghey, (now Tear,) being formerly presented for fornication, and having avoided the censures of the Church by her escape out of the island, did this day come voluntarily, made a public acknowledgment of her grievous sin, did solemnly ask God's pardon for it, and the people's for the offence she had given, and is thereupon heartily recommended to your Lordship's favour by Hen. Allen, Vicar of Lezaire."

The reply is,—

"Mr. Allen, In consideration of her present condition I suspend the remainder of her censure. Let her deliver this the next circuit, and cross her name. "Tho. Sodor and Man."

This is in keeping with what follows :—

"1717. *May* 21, *Rushen*. The above M. C. having sincerely confessed her fault in Court, and been deprived of the Blessed Sacrament last Easter, and having suffered some hardships last March by severe weather, and solemnly promising in Church never to be guilty of any such crime for the future, her censure is therefore remitted."

He seems even on the look-out for any real ground of mitigation. Observe, elsewhere, his buoyant and cheerful tone, when he felt that he had real penitents to deal with :—

"1716. *March* 3, *Kirk Conchan*. By all means let her be received into the peace of the Church, that I may always have this good account of penitents."

And again, March 23 :—

"Mr. Gell,—I am glad to have so good an account of this young

fellow from you, and pray God give him grace to perfect his repentance. I suspend the remainder of his censure, and he may be received into the peace of the Church according to the Form[t]."

A trivial cause heard about this time before the Vicar-General only, is curious as shewing how the island Church arrangements provided a gentle but effectual way of quieting disputes and correcting mischievous prejudices among the rude but not unbelieving people. A woman of Jurby complains to Mr. Walker that she and her husband had been "suspected to have been out early in the morning last May-day, walking on the dew in their neighbours' fields, with a design to prejudice them in the increase of their crop;" which rumour being disproved by evidence, but the evil report freely forgiven by the injured parties, nevertheless to clear their reputation, "and to discourage such vile and unchristian thoughts of one neighbour receiving damage from another by any trivial foolish customs of that kind, which betray great weakness of faith and trust in God," it is ordered that any one reviving the story should be fined £3, and imprisoned forty days, besides further punishment at the Ordinary's discretion.

In a very different matter, and one on which Manxmen as others are ordinarily jealous enough, we find the Spiritual Court in 1714 exercising unquestioned authority. A considerable sum had been laid out two years before in repairing and improving the Grammar-school house at Castletown, and the voluntary contributions not proving adequate, the Bishop, Nov. 4, makes an order that the Churchwardens shall assess the inhabitants of the town and neighbourhood for such a sum as will fully clear off the arrears due to the several workmen, and in such proportions as to them, the Churchwardens, shall appear just and equitable; "from which assessment the voluntary contributions are to be exempted," (i. e. I suppose, the donors were to be credited to the amount of their gifts,) "and the Wardens to be allowed one shilling a-piece for their trouble." Is it not a strong proof of the paramount influence which the Church had acquired in the island, that without scruple or demur she was thus allowed to levy a tax at her own discretion, and that under

[t] From the Archdeacon's Presentments.

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Convocation Charge, 1715.

On June 9, 1715, the annual Convocation came on, and it will be seen that the Bishop's address, (which is given by Cruttwell,) touching as it does on most delicate subjects, betrays no anticipation of censure or interference. It speaks in the tone of one determined to do his duty, and not expecting to be disturbed in it:—

"My Brethren,—The last time we met in Convocation I recommended to you the necessity of bringing all our people to family devotions, if ever we expect to see a reformation of manners, or serious religion amongst us. It concerns me to know how far your care and pains have been used to introduce this godly practice.

"The most effectual way to do this will be, for every clergyman to be able to shew his Bishop (when it is required of him) a particular register of every family in his parish, with the times when he visited any of them, and in what state he found them, and what hopes he had of reforming what he found amiss in any of them.

"And let me observe to you, that as the Bishop visits his diocese at least once a year in person, so every clergyman should at least so often visit every family and soul of his parish capable of receiving his instruction; that we may all of us be able to give a comfortable account of our labours to our great Master. You will soon see the great use of keeping such an account in writing of your parishes, as I do of my whole diocese.

"For instance:—If any of your flock fall into any great crimes, punishable either in the ecclesiastical or temporal courts, will it not be a real satisfaction to you to be able to satisfy your Bishop that such a person did not fall for want of a seasonable admonition? That you can shew the very times when you dealt with them, and what sins you warned them against, and what promises they made you?

"I take upon me to say, that a clergyman who does this conscientiously will have more comfort from this work, when he comes to die, than from any other part of his labours. Besides this, you will have before your eyes the state of your parishes,—who are poor and will want your own help and charity, or are fit to be recommended to others. You will see at one view, who neglect to send their children to school, their servants to be catechised and fitted for confirmation; you will be able to answer the Church's design

in the first rubric before the Communion Service, which I have so often recommended to your consideration; besides a great many good ends which will be served by such a book of *Parochialia*, kept as it should be.

"When I have recommended Family Prayers, I have often met with this objection, That few can read; and what can be expected from such families? Why, I will tell you: There is scarce one person of years in the whole diocese who cannot say the Lord's Prayer, &c. Now, if but this were done in every family before the servants and children, it would plant the fear of God in their hearts; they would be afraid of doing many things which now they commit without any concern.

"I intend, God willing, to visit every one of my brethren personally this summer. I shall be well pleased to find that this intimation has had its effect; and that I have not said this to no purpose. In the meantime, I am ready to shew any one who desires it what I mean by a book of parish duties, which I think so necessary to be kept by every clergyman who would faithfully discharge his duty.

"A melancholy act, which you have all heard of, obliges me to require you to take notice of the rules we have set us. The rubric before the Office for Burial of the Dead *expressly requires* [that] that office shall not be used *for any that have laid violent hands upon themselves*. The Church does not leave it to every clergyman to expound this in a favourable sense,—that such only are excluded from the benefit of Christian burial, who *with a sound mind spilled their own blood;* for nobody ever did so. Nor did she subject her clergy to be governed by the verdicts of ignorant or prejudiced juries; but she designed to discourage such actions as much as may be, that people under temptations of laying violent hands upon themselves may be more accustomed to go to their proper Pastors, to lay open their fears and temptations, and to receive ghostly comfort and absolution, for want of which there are too many of these instances among us.

"Now, instead of making people afraid of hiding their griefs from their spiritual physicians, if we allow them Christian burial, we really give them hopes to believe that there is no great matter what way men go out of the world. Nay, we encourage juries to bring in, it may be, unjust verdicts; as their verdicts, it seems, encourage us to break the Church's express commands. One of the most able divines of the Church of England, Doctor Adams by name, whose book of Self-murder[u] is approved of by all that have

[u] An Essay Concerning Self-murther, Lond. 1710.

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"I should be very ill used, if what I have now said should be made use of to add further sorrow to the affliction of those that have sorrow enough for the late visitation they have had on this account. I have as compassionate a concern for the living, and am as far from passing a rash judgment upon the dead, as any of my brethren; but I would have us all to govern ourselves by the rules set us by the Church, and in doubtful cases to take advice; —a thing which has been very imprudently overlooked in this late instance, which is such an irregularity as shall not be passed over so easily for the future.

"I must further acquaint you all, that the chancels of all the impropriated churches are vested in the Ordinary; and to prevent irregularities, I do require, and shall so order it, that nobody presume to bury the dead in any chancel, till they have my express licence or the Archdeacon's, or the leave of those whose right the chancels are. This is the law, and I expect it to be observed, to prevent encroachments upon your rights, and other irregularities.

"I desire you will now settle the impropriations, that I may not be obliged to call you together upon the complaint of particular persons; and particularly, that you will so order matters, that the great fine may not be too great a burthen when it comes to be due.

"I have received a mandate from the Archbishop of York to choose a Proctor for the clergy of this diocese, who may be ready, with the Archdeacon and myself, to attend the Convocation, if we should be called to York to do business there. I must desire you will now choose one.

"You have all, I presume, seen the King's injunction touching the observation of the fifty-fifth Canon, which I desire you will take notice of; there are other matters in those injunctions, which, blessed be God, do not concern us.

"I told you just now, that I intend this summer to see every church in the diocese, God enabling me. I hope that I shall find the parochial libraries entire and in good order; the registers regularly kept; the churches, church-houses, and chancels in good order, as becomes the houses of God; and all other things, particularly the schools, in such state as may satisfy me and all reasonable people.

"And indeed I shall take it very ill, after this plain notice, to meet with any frivolous excuse for a neglect in any of these particulars.

"You will find by my agent's letters and accounts, that I have paid two hundred pounds of the royal bounty more than I have received. I desire you will indemnify me, if it should not be gotten, for what I have or shall pay you hereafter out of my own monies; for I would not willingly have you want what I know to be so necessary for the support of your families, provided I can be secured that I shall not bear the whole burthen myself.

"These are the particulars that I think fit to recommend to you at present."

The Injunctions referred to are those of King George I. "for the preserving of unity in the Church," Dec. 11, 1714[x]. The "other matters," of which the Bishop says, "Blessed be God, they do not concern us," are chiefly these two; unauthorized and irreverent ways of teaching and speaking of the doctrine of the Holy Trinity; and political sermons, except in defence of the King's supremacy. The point intended to be secured by the enforcement of the 55th Canon was doubtless the acknowledgment of the new dynasty by name.

The decrees of this Convocation were such as might be expected from the Charge. Enforcing the rubric at the end of the Burial Office,—

"no regard," they say, "shall be had to the verdict of a jury in such cases, which cannot be a rule to the clergy contrary to the words of the rubric. And . . this prohibition shall . . be interpreted to comprehend any person killed in a duel. The bodies of such, and of all excommunicate persons, are not to be interred in the church or churchyard even without the Burial Office. A clergyman transgressing this decree to be suspended for three years without the least mitigation."

The records contain two instances of Bishop Wilson's carrying out the rubric by causing the removal of the bodies of unbaptized infants; one from Malew Church, to be laid ("as is usual") near the churchyard hedge; the other from Arbory churchyard.

Next,—

"Whereas some of the laity pretend a right to bury in the chancel upon paying $3^s\ 4^d$ to the Rector for breaking ground—the sole right and property of the chancel being either in the Rector or

[x] Cardwell, Documentary Annals, &c. ii. 365.

CHAP. X.

in the Bishop as guardian of the clergy's rights, . . . any one so breaking the ground without formal leave from the Bishop or Rector shall be, after due notice, excommunicated."

But the most important entry is,—

"The Lord Bishop has recommended to the clergy an exhortation to every adult member of their respective congregations for family prayers; and that the said clergy would each keep a book containing the state of their parishes (commonly called *Parochialia*), and enjoins them to have their churches, houses, registers, and clerical libraries in good order, which his Lordship designs to see sometime this summer."

Certain Impropriate Tithes restored.

This chapter may be fitly closed with an encouraging circumstance which occurred in the ensuing August, and which may be best related in the words of the official record :—

"To the Right Reverend Father in God, Thomas, by Divine permission, Lord Bishop of Sodor and Mann.

"My Lord,

"I, Anthony Halsall, of Castletown, one of the Academical Scholars, being, by the mercy of God, upon mature deliberation, thoroughly convinced of the unlawfulness and impiety of holding tithes by prescription, as directly contrary to God's holy institution of a determinate *quantum* for the provision of those who wait at His altar; and also that I may not incur the tremendous curse of robbing of God, as the Prophet expresses it, Mal. iii. 8, or of being 'an hinderer of His Word'—(this custom having a natural tendency to introduce an entire ignorance of Divine things)—as I am frequently admonished before I approach His altar;—do, in honour of God and gratitude to my Saviour for the means of grace purchased by His Blood, freely and voluntarily surrender and dedicate to my Almighty Creator and His holy Church, and in particular and solely to the Vicar or Incumbent of Kirk Malew and his successors in that cure for ever, all the tithe of corn and hay, and all other titheable things yearly arising from and growing in or out of my part of Ballalough, in the parish of Kirk Malew aforesaid. And if it shall so happen, (which God forbid,) that the impropriations shall be alienated or taken away, then and in that case, the Vicar or Incumbent for the time being shall notwithstanding always receive the tithes in kind of my lands aforesaid, and in lieu thereof shall only pay the present annual proportion of the prescription, being 2^{s} 8^{d} to the Impropriator or his substitutes, according to custom. And being sensible how persons, more so-

licitous for a temporal than an eternal interest, have from time to time sacrilegiously devoured and curtailed the Church's patrimony, enjoyed by her either by an antecedent right, as tithes, or by particular vows, I shall only adjure such, if at any time they either forcibly or under colour of law shall endeavour to alienate what I have now thus solemnly devoted to God and His Church, to consider that God is immutable, and will certainly 'curse with a curse[y]' those who shall presume to desecrate or apply to any, public or private, common or secular use, what He has reserved to Himself, or [what] has been dedicated to Him, and consequently become unalienable by any human power or authority upon earth. CHAP. X.

"And that this my necessary act of restitution may not for the future be defeated, but may remain inviolable to all posterity, I humbly request your Lordship, that this instrument may be recorded in your Lordship's registry, *In perpetuam Rei Memoriam:* and have in witness hereof affixed my hand and seal this 10th day of Aug[t], *Anno Domini* 1715.

"ANTHONY HALSALL."

He proceeds to surrender in like manner his own and his successor's share in the tithes of another piece of land, which he held jointly with Mr. William Seddon, Collector:—

"with this reserve, that this my necessary act of restitution shall be no pretence to constrain Mr. Seddon, or any one else who may hold any part of the said ground, to quit the privilege or supposed advantage of their tenure by prescription, until God in His mercy inclines them to surrender and restore the determined proportion of a tenth, which has always been esteemed due to God and His Church till our late more loose and degenerate ages." And in case of the "detestable accident" mentioned in the former paper, the Vicar of Malew, "to whom," he says, "I particularly and solely surrender these tithes as God's representative in that cure, shall notwithstanding any such usurpation of the Church's rights still receive my tithes in kind, only paying my present annual proportion of 8d., this being the prescription of the whole."

Mr. Halsall having duly executed these papers, delivered them in person to the Bishop, whose answer is also recorded:—

"Sir,—Forasmuch as God hath put it into your heart to restore unto His Church this part of her inheritance, which iniquity of former times had turned into a prescription; to the end your pious act may become effectual and exemplary, I do hereby, ac-

[y] See Malachi iii. 9.

CHAP. X. cording to your desire, require these two deeds signed and sealed by you, and witnessed as above, to be recorded by my Register. And may God remember you concerning this thing, and put it into the heart of all others, who hold their tithes by such prescription, that they may consider, 'that Church lands' (much more tithes) 'added to a just inheritance, hath proved like a moth fretting a garment, and secretly consum'd both[z].' Given under my hand this fourth of September, Anno Dom. 1715."

This good precedent was followed two years afterwards by another young man, Thomas Christian, jun., of Balnakilley in Kirk Marowne: who—

"being thoroughly convinced of the Divine right of paying tithes in kind, and being one of the ancient prescribers in this isle, did freely, voluntarily, and absolutely give up the said prescription into the hands of the Bishop, binding himself, his heirs, and executors for the future to pay the tenth of everything titheable."

The Bishop thanks him nearly in the same form as before; dating from Bishop's Court, July 18, 1717.

How especially welcome these offerings were to Bishop Wilson, coming as they did from born Manxmen who had grown up under his instruction, may be seen by the following reference to them in his "History of the Isle:"—

"They (the islanders) have generally hated sacrilege to such a degree that they do not think a man can wish a greater curse to a family than in these words; *Clagh ny Killagh ayns Corneil dty hie wooar*, that is, 'May a stone of the Church be found in a corner of thy dwelling-house.' And though the covetousness of some have taken advantage of the former great poverty of the clergy, and of the little power they had to defend themselves in the Bishop's absence from the diocese, to introduce prescriptions .... yet the piety of some others has led them to fling up such prescriptions, which are so very injurious to the rights of the Church, and of so evil an example, and an handle for others to attempt the same injustice."

But now we must open another chapter in his history—the trouble and almost persecution which he had to endure for several years from the civil governors of the island.

[z] Abp. Whitgift to Queen Elizabeth, [in Walton's Life of Hooker].

NOTE (Q), p. 331.

"*St. Peter's Day*, 1714.

"The names of such persons as have contributed to the building and endowing of St. Patrick's new church, near Peeltown; as also such as offered any gifts for the ministring of religion in this place:—

1. Capt. Silvester Ratcliff and his son Mr. Charles Ratcliff gave the ground of the church and churchyard free of all rents and other incumbrances, as by Act of Tynwald appears.

2. The parishioners, according to their ability, assisted in raising and carrying of stones, lime, slate, and other materials for the building, and served the masons and other workmen.

3. The Right Reverend the Lord Bishop having in his hands a certain sum of money of the arrears of the Bishop's revenue during the vacancy, &c., has expended on this work the sum of 73^{lb} 1^{s} 1^{d}.

4. His Lordship has given out of his own private purse a pulpit, reading-desk, clerk's-seat, and a pew for the Vicar's family, as also the Communion-table, carpet, and rails.

5. The Rev. Mr. Samuel Watleworth, Archdeacon, late Incumbent of the parishes of Kirk Patrick and Kirk German, has given the sum of 3^{lb} towards buying of a bell.

6. Mr. Philip Hooper of Bishop's Court has given a Bible, Common Prayer, flaggon, 1 dish, 2 plates, and a bason for alms.

7. Madam Dorothy Mawdesley, the late Honourable Governor's Lady, has given a white cloth for the Communion-table.

8. Madam Elizabeth Wybrants has given a silver patten for the service of the altar.

9. Jo. Holroyd, Esq., has given one silver chalice for the service aforesaid.

10. Mrs. Susanna Murrey, wife of Mr. Jo. Murrey, Merchant, of Douglas, has given a surplice.

11. The Rev. Mr. Wm. Walker, Rector of Ballaugh, has given a corporal and napkin to cover the holy Elements on the Altar.

12. The glebe anciently belonging to the Vicars of this parish, lately in the hands of Mr. Jo. Watleworth of Ballamoar, is now recovered, and restored to this church.

Lastly, The Lord Bishop has this day given, by a public instrument, 50^{lb}, the interest thereof for the perpetual use of the Vicars of this parish."

CHAPTER XI.

DISCUSSIONS WITH GOVERNMENT: JACOBITISM: RIGHT OF APPEAL: POPISH TENDENCIES. 1715—1718.

CHAP. XI.

During the two years of unwearied and successful work which followed on the Bishop's return from Lancashire in September, 1713, we have more than one instance of continued harmony between the temporal and spiritual authorities. The Bishop being at Castletown, Nov. 4, 1714, a soldier named Molyneux was presented for profane swearing and abusive language to the Sumner-General, and also for refusing to pay a small fine for some pious use. The order for his commitment is indorsed by Rowe, Comptroller, and Seddon, Attorney-General, then acting, it would seem, as Deputy-Governors of the island. Six days afterwards, Nov. 10, the Bishop and Vicars-General meet at Bishop's Court, and address the temporal government thus:—

"Wm. Callow, of Ballagilley in Kirk Maughold, being so far lost to all good manners as to become notorious for lewdness, having debauched many women, and particularly his cousin-german, and hoping to screen himself from the censures of the Church by his office of Coroner of the Garff Sheading:—We make it our request that the Right Worshipfull the Deputy-Governors of this isle will be pleased to discountenance so audacious a sinner by turning him out of the said office: since we shall be obliged to proceed to the severest ecclesiastical censure against him."

The indorsement, Dec. 9, 1714, is,—

"Wm. Callow is discharged from his office, and the Ecclesiastical Court has suspended his censure for three months' time, to try how he will behave himself."

These things took place in Mawdesley's time, or at least before his vacancy was filled up. And after Horne came, as it seems about Easter, the first paper in the registry which bears his name, July 29, 1715, is an indorsement of an order of his predecessor to the Commander of Douglas Fort, to carry out the decrees for dragging incorrigible harlots after a boat.

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Fishing on Sundays.

Not until the September following, so far as I can ascertain, does any symptom of disagreement appear. It being then the height of the herring fishery, one Thomas Stole in Malew parish was, as it should seem, tempted to go out on a Sunday, (contrary to the ancient laws of the isle [a],) and when called to account for it, signified that he had authority for doing so. A report spread that it was by the Bishop's authority, and Mr. Woods, the Vicar of Malew, wrote to Mr. Walker on the subject. This occasioned the following letter:—

"*Sept.* 3, 1715.

"Mr. Woods,—Mr. Walker gave me a sight of your letter. Pray give me credit in this matter, that I never, neither on purpose nor in any accidental discourse, gave the least encouragement to this vile practice. I always spoke against it with some bitterness, even when Mr. Worthington, &c., were pleading for it. I gave my reasons, and many instances of God's judgments on offenders in this place, &c. Do me justice to tell everybody that I have required you to say this, for 'tis truth, and so much my settled persuasion, that I have been blamed on the other hand for a Pharisaical strictness [b]."

The Bishop's "strictness" might be seen in a case which had recently come before him. Robert Calcott, of Castletown, —who "could not deny but sometimes he had been detained from the public worship of the Lord's Day by patients who earnestly press upon him for administering of physic and drawing blood," for which neglect and for tippling he had incurred Church censure,—asks pardon, and offers to give security for his reformation; which the Bishop accepts, and hopes that he will reform, but should he be hereafter presented, "we shall put the severity of the law in execution." March 16, 1714.

All along, as the records shew, he had dealt with the matter in the same way, and it was plainly no more than the people expected. We have instances of men censured for "fiddling" on Sunday, which is called "a crime," or even on Saturday night. A Churchwarden of Ballaugh presents

[a] Mills, 63, 64.

[b] He adds a Postscript, which to some may be curious:—"If you can get me in your towne half an ounce of dragon's blood, pray send it me by the first safe hand—by the bearer. And a handful or two of hart's-tongue and maiden-hair, if any is in your towne."

CHAP. XI.

himself for sending a messenger to Castletown on Whitsunday. At Douglas, 1724, a man was censured for shaving in Church time on a Sunday; and another for swimming a duck with a spaniel as he came from the parish church on Sunday evening. In more than one instance persons are presented for sleeping in Church, and promise repentance.

He was so moved now by the report that he had sanctioned Sunday fishing, and by some fresh instances of it, that he drew up a formal admonition on the subject, to be published in the three parishes which were thought most to need such a warning:—

"Whereas several persons, upon the last Lord's Day, did presumptuously go to the herring-fishing, contrary to the laws of God and the laudable customes of this Church, both which require that that day be kept holy, and particularly by abstaining from all worldly business, exeept where necessity or charity oblige us to do otherways; and we having just reason to fear, lest such a practice, if not timely discountenanc'd, may provoke God to withdraw a blessing which we have so long pray'd for: We do therefore require you upon the next Sunday to give publie notice, that no person do presume to go to the fishing upon the Lord's Day, under penalty of the severest ecclesiastical censures. And forasmuch as the very desire of labouring upon the Lord's Day must proceed from a spirit of *infidelity and profaneness* as well as covetousness, you will do well to endeavour to possess your people with a due sense of the goodness of God, in allowing us six days to labour in, and commanding one day in seven only to be kept holy,—in giving us His blessing with so bountiful a hand, that we have enough for ourselves, and even to spare for others, so that we need not intrench upon the time set apart for God's glory and service. And pray, let your people be put in mind of those most remarkable judgments, which (some of them in the memory of man) befell so many persons, who, led by the same profane spirit, perished in their folly, and became terrible examples of God's displeasure against such as despise His laws, and His *Sabbaths*. And because we are resolv'd, as much as in us lieth, to prevent these judgments, and to discountenance this sin, we do require of you and your churchwardens, that you forthwith present to us such persons as have already been guilty in this particular, that they may be proceeded against as the law directs, and made examples to others; and that we may remove the guilt from ourselves, and the scandal given to all sober Christians.—Given at Bishop's Court, this 21st day of

September, A.D. 1715. THO. SODOR AND MAN; SAM. WATTLEWORTH, Archdeacon; JO. CURGHY, WM. WALKER, Vicars-General. CHAP. XI.

"To the Vicars of Malew, Arbory, and Kirk Christ Rushen, who are required to read this the next Lord's Day in English and Manx, and the Rev. Mr. Makon is also to read it in Castletown Chapel."

Mr. Woods in the meantime had become aware that it was the Governor himself whose authority had been pleaded, and not untruly, and that he consequently took the Bishop's order as directed against him, and was affronted accordingly. This he reported to the Bishop, who replied, Sept. 29:—

"Dear Sir,—I thank you for the things you sent by the Sumner. As for the order, I do sincerely profess I knew nothing of what had passed betwixt the Governor and Stole when I signed and sent that order. Otherways I have more manners, if I had wanted discretion and honesty, than to have sent such an order to have been published there.

"When the first account was given me, it was by two persons; one of them said he believed they had authority for what they did. My answer was, I knew not who could give that authority, since the Lord's Day was purely of ecclesiastical cognisance. The one [? other] immediately reply'd, 'Tis said it was by your Lordship's authority. That, said I, they shall soon know. And immediately I resolved upon that order I sent you. And knew nothing that the Governor had ever concerned himself in that affair. And, indeed, whoever put Stole upon asking the Governor's leave, did not do well, and to be sure surprised him; otherways, in a matter of so great consequence, he would have advised with us about it. As for what I said on this head, if I were to die I remember nothing of it, and can say nothing to it. But I have said too much to apologise for a thing which needs none, when a man knows the uprightness of his own heart and intentions. I am satisfy'd the order was fit to be sent, and I am concern'd that it happen'd (contrary to my knowledge and intention) to be a real occasion of trouble to the Governor. My behaviour to whom (I hoped) might have convinced him that it is not in my heart to give any man, much less his Honour, any studied occasion of offence. If the Governor is not satisfy'd of this, you'll shew him this letter; if this will not do, I must leave it in His hands who searcheth hearts.

"I am,

"Your affectionate friend and brother,

"THO. SODOR AND MAN.

"To the Reverend Mr. Woods, Episcopal Register.

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"These orders came to my hands late last evening. I have sent the rest to the Archdeacon. I hope the Governor will find that it is not our own people that take these liberties, which, I thank God, I have not heard any man within this isle guilty of."

Imputation of Jacobitism.

This postscript relates to another matter, fruitful at that time in bitterness and mischief in Man, as elsewhere in these islands. On the first day of that September, Lord Mar had set up the standard of James VIII. in Aberdeenshire; the Jacobites of England were everywhere in movement, and the friends of the new settlement in alarm, and there were many of course who wished to make a merit with the Government of their zeal and skilfulness in detecting the disaffected. Among these appears to have been the acting Governor of Man, Captain Alexander Horne, who might naturally enough think to ingratiate himself with Lord Derby by such a course, his Lordship having been just made Master of the Horse to King George. Persons of that way of thinking, and knowing little of Church matters, might well make the mistake which others have since made, that such a High Churchman as Wilson must of course have sympathy with the Stuarts; and this notion may have had something to do with a document which the Governor thought proper to issue, Sept. 26, the very day after he had heard in Church the Bishop's censure on Sunday fishing. This State Paper, in not very grammatical sentences, (for it seems as if the Governor would have thought it undutiful to write better English than his patron,) recites that

"several persons within this island have lately taken great liberty in reflecting upon the establishment of the present government in England, but till some further laws be made to punish offences of this kind, therefore if any person shall hereafter speak reflecting words of the King's Majesty of England, or the present government there . . . or shew their disaffection by drinking the Pretender's health, or the healths of any other . . . that are esteemed enemyes to the Crown of England, or attainted or outlawed by the lawes thereof, such shall be fined and further punished at the discretion of the Court."

He goes on to denounce the same fine and punishment on any person present, and not reporting the matter

"unto me or some of the Lord's principal officers:" such to be

"esteemed disaffected to the Crown of England. And to the end no person may plead ignorance hereof, I desire the Lord Bishop to give directions that the Ministers in their several churches . . . may on Sunday next read this order."

The Bishop did so, and added a circular of his own :—

"Brother,—You will herewith receive the Governor's order, together with a copy of his letter to me. There must be nothing wanting on our parts to discountenance a practice which may have such evil consequences. You will therefore take care to read this order, as directed, and to endeavour to preserve your people from falling into such errours, by exhorting them to study to be quiet, and to mind their own business. To be subject to those whom God hath set over us, not only for wrath, but also for conscience, remembring, that whosoever resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God. And because these liberties complained of seem to take their rise from tippling and drunkenness, you will do well to discountenance these vices in particular, and all others which may be an occasion of offence to man, or of sin against God.—Given under my hand this 29th of September, 1715.

"Tho. Sodor and Man."

It will be observed (so frankly did he co-operate in the movement) that he sent to his clergy the Governor's letter which accompanied the order, as well as the order itself, going beyond what he was asked to do. And it was a step not without significance, as the tenor of the letter will shew :—

"My Lord,—These few instances we have had of a disrespectful and unbecoming language against the established Government of England in favour of the Pretender, although spoken by strangers, yet have consequences that we are all obliged to prevent. I have very good reason to observe to your Lordship that those few seeds of disaffection have taken root even among many of the natives of this island, which may reasonably be imputed to the easy censure passed upon such as have been tried for crimes of this kind. Drinking the Pretender's health, and discourse shewing their disaffection to the King and present Government of England, is a thing but too commonly used by many people in this island; and if such be suffered without punishment and admonition to the contrary, the consequences may be worse to us than we can at present imagine. I, for my part, will use my utmost endeavour to prevent it, as far as the power of the Civil Government will allow me, and

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I hope your Lordship will be pleased to give directions to your clergy to discourage and discountenance a thing so unjustifiable, and so inconsistent with our allegiance and duty to the crown of England, and excite and admonish their respective congregations to such dutiful obedience thereunto as becomes us all who enjoy the blessing of peace, unity, and security under it. I do not doubt but to meet with your Lordship's hearty concurrence in this affair, that we may thereby endeavour to remove the opinion of those abroad, which the unwary and unregarded speeches of several persons here have given occasion for, and for which reason I have issued out orders to that purpose, desiring your Lordship will recommend them to the clergy to be publicly read by them in the respective churches and chapels of this isle, being

"My Lord, your Lordship's most humble Servant,
"ALEXR HORNE."

We find him shortly after acting no less cordially on another injunction from the same quarter. The Governor had written to him, Aug. 29, suggesting a contribution among the clergy towards supplying arms and ammunition for the general defence, and referring to the records for proof that he was not imposing a new thing. This he accompanied with a private letter, which is curious, as throwing light upon the disposition of the Manxmen at that time:—

"My Lord,—I shall be obliged to acquaint my Lord how far I have proceeded towards the putting the island in a posture of defence, and, indeed, I am sorry I can give his Lordship no better account than an untoward disposition in the 24 Keys, as if they look upon it as a matter indifferent who should come to this island, so they can sell their goods, as corn, &c., and therefore looking upon themselves as neutral are for giving no opposition, though it were to the enemy of the Crown of Britain: I have therefore enclosed my proposal to your Lordship and the clergy, desiring your answer as to the supply of such arms as were usually provided by them upon such occasions, that I may be the better able to give my Lord a full and particular account of this matter.

"I, am, my Lord,
"Your Lordship's most obedient and humble Servant,
"ALEXR HORNE."

Evidently they had not got over their deep disgust at the way in which the English Government had dealt with their application for commercial privileges a few years before.

However I cannot doubt that the Bishop's earnest endeavours were used to overcome their indifference; and by the 12th of the ensuing November a meeting of the Keys at Castletown on the subject had been appointed for the 22nd; and the Bishop summoning his clergy to be there on the 23rd, adds,—

"Forasmuch as the settlement then to be made may affect not only ourselves but our successors, I do expect that you will not fail to be then and there present to give me your best advice."

The result was, that the clergy

"having perused and considered the Honourable Governor's letter, together with the papers and letters laid before them, did with all becoming deference take leave to assure his Honour that they would chearfully contribute towards the general defence of the country by giving such assistance for that service as (regard being had to what their predecessors had done) should bear a proportion with the rest of the inhabitants of the island [c]."

It was the time when the question of the Succession appeared to press more urgently on the consciences of men than at any moment since the Revolution, and Bishop Wilson was naturally applied to from time to time by persons doubting to whom they owed their allegiance. He drew up therefore and inserted in his Register, "The Bishop of Man's Reasons for taking the Oath of Abjuration, to such as made application to him on that account." It is the same view which some years afterwards, being then probably in England, he embodied in a letter to a gentleman, apparently a familiar acquaintance, who had confided to him his scruples on that point—the same view in substance, only that in the letter it is more fully and clearly expressed. At the request of the Lord Chancellor, King, he printed the argument in this its improved form: which I insert after the example of previous biographers.

"*Letter on the Oath of Abjuration.*

"Sir,—You find yourself under an authority which requires certain things of you for the better security of the government that protects you; particularly, to declare in a certain form of words *whom you acknowledge to have a right to your allegiance.*

[c] The following memorandum is appended to this document in the Registry:—"1689. The Bishop—8 musquetts. The Archdeacon—4 do. The two Parsons—2 do. apiece. And every Vicar 1 do. apiece=30 musquetts."

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"Who it is that has this right is not determined by any law of God; the law of the land must therefore, in this case, be the only rule of conscience.

"Now the laws of the land have determined this right to be in the present possessor of the throne, and in no other; having excluded papists, and all such as shall marry papists, (whatever right they should otherwise have had by proximity of blood,) from succeeding to the Crown, and consequently from all right to our allegiance.

"The only doubt therefore that you can have is, Whether these laws were made by a competent authority.

"Now the decision of this point not being within the capacity of every private subject, *who yet is bound to submit to every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake;* all that a conscientious man can do, and all that can be required of him, is to follow the most probable opinion.

"The *most probable opinion* most certainly is that of the nobility and judges, the ordinary and extraordinary interpreters of the law, whose business and duty it is to understand the law and the constitution, and to tell it to others who cannot be supposed to know it; and if they should lead you into an error, it will never be imputed to you as a sin.

"To their judgment therefore you ought to submit, as the most likely to be true; and that is, that the right of calling parliaments, and of giving sanction to laws, is in that King who possesseth the throne by the general consent of the nation; or in other words, that the laws for limiting the succession to the Protestant line are made by a competent authority: and Scripture and reason suppose this.

"For considering how many difficulties are to be got over before every private Christian could thoroughly understand the titles of princes, and answer all the difficulties that could be started, and till then might question every law made by the legislature; the command of God, *of submitting to every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake*, would at the same time be an indispensable duty, and yet impossible to be performed. But if the law of the land, as interpreted by those whose place and business it is to declare the meaning of it, be a law of conscience where it contradicts no law of God, then every man is capable of knowing his duty, and of acting conscientiously.

"And if you consider that we are in most other cases governed by the judgment and authority of private persons, without knowing their reasons, modesty and Christian humility will incline you to

submit to this much greater authority where so much depends upon your obedience. CHAP. XI.

"For instance:—You would commence a lawsuit; you would venture to give your neighbour a great deal of trouble, put him to a great expense, and this upon the judgment and authority of two or three lawyers, whom you believe to be honest men, and well skilled in their profession; nay, if you were obliged, (as in some countries you would be,) before you could be permitted to commence your suit, solemnly to take an oath that you did believe you had a righteous cause, you would do this upon their authority: with much more reason ought you to submit to the authority of all the judges of the land, whose duty it is to declare the law in doubtful cases, as they have done in this before us.

"You have heard it said, that in doubtful cases we should take the safer side, suffer anything rather than comply with a doubtful conscience.

"But you would do well to consider, that if the powers which you refuse to acknowledge and to obey should prove to be lawful, as they are declared to be by the ordinary and extraordinary interpreters of the law, then you certainly sin in refusing to acknowledge them. This being a good rule in cases of this nature, *that it is safer to obey authority with a doubting conscience, than with a doubting conscience to disobey;* and it is as certainly a sin to quit my post or hazard my estate, when I might preserve both by submitting to the authority and judgment of those whose duty it is to inform my judgment, and solve my doubts.

"You made another objection; namely, that you are to declare you do this willingly, though you cannot help having some scruples concerning this oath.

"It is certain, where a man has the least scruple he would avoid taking any oath were he left to himself; but when authority, the very same authority that I obey in other cases, when that interposes in doubtful cases, it turns the scale and obliges to obedience. And then a man does that *willingly* which he would as willingly have let alone had he been at his own disposing.

"I remember another difficulty you laboured under. You are (you said) obliged to declare that you believe a person has *no right*. When the decision of the question depends upon such arguments, of whose force you are not qualified to judge, this is true.

"But then the casuists give you this direction for your safe conduct; namely, *follow the most probable opinion*, which certainly is that of the legislature, in doubts concerning human laws and constitutions, where no known law of God is against it. You profess

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to believe this upon the authority and judgment of the government you are under. That authority is sufficient to claim our assent, where we ourselves are not able to come to a determination.

"I have heard you say that you would take the Oath of Allegiance without scruple, were that only required of you. Now I believe you have not well considered the little difference (if any) betwixt that and the Oath of Abjuration; the one being an *affirmative* and the other a *negative oath* of allegiance. By the first, you promise to bear faith and true allegiance to the King in possession; by the second, you swear that you will not pay that allegiance to any other. Now by allegiance you mean that obedience which the laws, as interpreted by the judges, require of you; they require this security of your fidelity; you are bound to do this, if you can do it without sinning against some known law of God; it is not a probability of sinning that will excuse you against a known command of God.

"I might have referred you to many large tracts for your satisfaction, but I rather choose to recommend this short argument to your consideration: that we are governed by the authority and judgment of divines in matters of religion, by physicians in cases concerning our health, and by every tradesman in his proper calling.

"Now it being the unanimous opinion of the Lords and Commons, Bishops, Divines, Judges, and Lawyers, who have all taken the oaths that the several declarations therein contained are agreeable to the laws of this land, and no way contrary to the law of God, one cannot tell what more a private subject should desire, to incline him *to believe* that the King has a right to his allegiance in the terms of the oaths required of him, and consequently [he?] can have no good reason to scruple the taking of them.

"If these reasons prevail with you to take this oath with the sincerity of one that is in earnest, you will give the government that security which they think fit to require of you, and your mind that ease which unnecessary scruples indulged are apt to bereave you of."

"N.B. Tertullian, in his Apology for the Christian Religion, hath these remarkable words relating to this subject: Jesus Christ calls 'for a piece of money, and seeing the superscription to be Cæsar's, *without any further enquiry* He orders the things that are Cæsar's to be given to Cæsar [d].'"

In spite of all this and more to be mentioned hereafter,

[d] "See Mr. Reeves's preliminary discourse to that book, p. 145." [Perhaps the passage meant in Tertullian is De Idololatria, c. 15.]

the imputation of Jacobitism, combined of course with that of atrocious perfidy, continued throughout the Bishop's life and beyond it. The Governor himself was not ashamed to give countenance to it, alleging, in a paper which he put on record some six years after, that certain prayers composed in the time of this rebellion, and ordered by his Majesty to be used in all churches and chapels, were then delivered to the Bishop for that purpose; that the Bishop promised they should be used, but that he (the Governor) "did not find that they were." This saying bears date Feb. 22, 1721; and as I find no account of such correspondence, I cannot help conjecturing that the Governor's recollection deceived him, and that what he meant to refer to was a real oversight, not of the Bishop himself, but of one of his clergy; as detailed in the following letter to his Registrar:— CHAP. XI.

"*Bishop's Court, August* 8, 1718.

"Mr. Woods,—I am given to understand that my former orders of March 1, 1714, touching the observation of the 55th Canon of the Church of England, have not been generally observed in the Chapel of Castletown and in some other places, and that this has occasioned strangers to represent us abroad as a people disaffected to his Majesty and his Government, which gives my Lord Derby very great offence and uneasiness. I do desire and require you upon the receipt of this letter to send for Mr. Makon and let him know this, and that I expect he will observe my former directions herein, and signify to such as at any time preach in that chapel that such orders have been given, and that he himself take care to conform to that order and the Canon before mentioned. I desire also that you send a copy of this letter to Douglas and to Peel. And I do earnestly entreat you and the rest of my brethren of the clergy, that you forbear as much as possible the company and conversation of strangers, and especially of such as are notoriously disaffected to the present Government, that we may give no occasion of offence, either to the Government or to strangers.

"I am, your affectionate friend and brother,

"Tho. Sodor and Man."

"Let this letter be kept on record.

"To the Reverend Mr. Woods, Episcopal Register."

Meantime the discipline went on, and was especially useful just about this time in checking slander. Mr. Stowell[e], gene- The Bridle.

[e] p. 197.

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rally inclined to shrink from severities, has preserved approvingly the following fragment of the Bishop's memoranda:—

"June, 1714. I ordered a *bridle* to be made, as a terror to people of ill tongues; and it is now brought about the circuit by the General Sumner, and lodged in his hands for the time to come."

As we have seen, this was no invention of his, but a thing prescribed by the customary laws. It was now in full use, and if we judge by the offender's dislike of it, proved effectual. At Castletown, Oct. 21, one Mary Gibson was found guilty of four distinct slanders, and one instance of public outrageous abuse:—

"by all which, and by the general complaint of the neighbourhood, it appears that she is a woman of a lewd and ungovernable tongue. In order therefore to reclaim her, and to give satisfaction to the persons injured, and peace if possible to the neighbourhood," she is sentenced to a fortnight's imprisonment, and "to wear the bridle three market days at the Cross of Castletown:" besides the usual recognizances for the future. But Nov. 24, "Mary Gibson aforesaid came again before the Court, and Mrs. Alice Stevenson with her daughter Mrs. Margaret," (the person most impudently defamed,) "being present, with the greatest submission and tokens of deep sorrow, begged that the severity of the law, in [her] wearing the bridle, might be dispensed with, which they in Christian compassion have condescended unto, and only expect that the said Mary Gibson shall ask public forgiveness in Castletown Chapel . . . the next Lord's Day:" which was accordingly done.

The bridle is also threatened, March 13 of the same year, in the case of a man of Kirk Maughold, who had taken upon himself falsely to be the father of an illegitimate child. If he should refuse

"to stand for one hour, during the height of the market, upon the Cross, with a paper upon his breast expressing his crime," at each of the four towns, "the Court will order him to wear the bridle also—the punishment which the law has appointed for such as take upon themselves lewd crimes which they have not been guilty of."

The sentences for incontinence are marked this year more distinctly perhaps than usual, on the one hand by the Bishop's wish to make all charitable allowances, on the other by a certain jealousy, lest the nerves of the discipline might be a little

relaxed by the too great easiness of the clergy. Thus in the case of one Jony Kneen of Kirk Andreas, who after the manner of so many had incurred the gratuitous guilt of forswearing a sin which was sure very shortly to betray itself, the Court enjoined not only (as in former instances) penance in all the churches and chapels of the island, but also that she should stand at the four market crosses with a paper on her breast intimating her crimes, and repeat a schedule of confession appointed by the Bishop, acknowledging her unchastity and perjury;—

"by all which" (so it proceeds) "I have most seriously offended God,—have forfeited His favour, and provoked Him to withdraw His grace, and the assistance of His Holy Spirit from me; and have also given great occasion of offence to all good Christians, and justly incurred the severe censures of the Church, in order to work within me true humiliation and unfeigned repentance for the same, by God's grace and assistance; whose mercy and pardon I do most earnestly supplicate, and do humbly intreat all good Christians present to offer up their prayers that God would vouchsafe me His grace and the gift of true repentance, that my sorrow may be sincere and acceptable in His sight, that so I may be restored to His favour and be received again into the peace of the Church. And this I beg for the sake of Jesus Christ my Saviour: in whose name and words I further say, kneeling, 'Our Father,'" &c.

Having performed part of this censure, she asks for remission on this ground especially, that

"if her censure be continued any longer, there is great reason to doubt it will tend to your petitioner's disadvantage, especially by alienating the affection of the young man who designed to marry her."

The Bishop listens to this plea, directing one penance to be performed in Kirk Andreas, and then "let them pass from the sheet to the ring."

When the Convocation met on May 24, "it was ordered and decreed," apparently by way of reminder to the clergy, "that all persons under the censures of the Church shall be prohibited *ab ingressu Ecclesiæ* after publication of the censure, till that censure be undergone by the offender." No other business is related to have been there transacted, except a memorandum "that there be particular care taken

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that the parishioners duly attend evening prayer; that being a duty too much neglected in some parishes of this diocese." And another, "That those families and other persons, who are notorious for absenting from Divine Service on the holy-days and the solemn fasts of the Church, be reproved by the rector or vicar. And if afterwards they continue obstinate, they are to be presented and censured."

Two of the Bishop's sermons of this year, with their occasions, seem to warrant especial notice.

On Palm Sunday, March 25, he preached at Ballaugh, "at which time" (so his memorandum runs) "I confirmed my dear child, being then in the thirteenth year of his age;" for he was born Aug. 24, 1703. We have then the sanction of Bishop Wilson for Confirmation, and doubtless for Communion also, at that early age. I say "for Communion also," for the 67th Sermon, on which this memorandum is indorsed, mainly addresses itself to the coming Easter Communion, and speaks in the most unreserved terms of the absolute necessity of communicating; only now and then alluding to persons renewing and taking on themselves their baptismal vows. It is interesting, too, and somewhat awful to observe, that the subject which he chose for that occasion was the sin of Judas, and its application to wicked Christians. Young Thomas Wilson continued, I believe, under his father's roof until he was sixteen or seventeen.

Again, having to preach at Douglas, the mart and harbour of the island, on the 5th of August, the Bishop pours himself out on the sin of fraud in particular, most thoughtfully and skilfully applying Holy Scripture to one after another of the various sinful liberties so common and so little thought of in the money-getting world, which his large experience as a judge and a man of business had made him aware of[f].

Thus quietly they went on, seemingly quite unconscious of the grievous interruption which the discipline was soon to experience.

Case of Mary Henricks.

For only five days after the Whitsuntide Convocation, a cause commenced which disturbed the island for years. Two persons of Douglas were presented for adultery, pro-

[f] Serm. liii.

bably at the Chapter Court; Isaac Allgood, and Mary the wife of John Henricks or Hendrick, who was, I believe, a licensed victualler in that town. The case in itself offered nothing special to dwell upon; but persons discontented with the discipline had access to this Mrs. Henricks, and prevailed on her to become their instrument in setting aside the ecclesiastical laws. The formal censure—the amount of which does not exactly appear, but doubtless it included at least penance in all the churches,—was pronounced June 5, but only one of the offenders, the man Allgood, submitted himself to it; and in his case it seems there was some unpleasant delay: but the woman proved altogether stubborn and rebellious. Their behaviour drew from the Bishop the following letter to his Vicar-General:—

"*Bishop's Court, July* 26, 1716.

"Mr. Curghy,—I sent word the last week to have Mr. Allgood charged to perform his penance on Sunday last, which I understand has not been done; pray let me know where the fault lieth, that I may see it mended; and tell your Summoner that he charge him expressly to do penance on Sunday next, either in Douglas Chapel (if there shall be service there in the forenoon) or in Kirk Braddan, otherways I shall return his bonds, and proceed to other censures. Upon the receipt of this I desire you will go to Mary Henricks, and let her know what the consequence of her obstinacy is like to end in. Excommunication is a censure which I should be sorry to be forced to make use of against her, but we must not suffer the discipline of the Church to be trampled upon. Her reformation is what I aim at, and what I heartily pray for; but besides that, her behaviour has been such as has given great occasion of scandal, and the discipline of the Church requires that she should become an example of public penance, or be put out of the society of Christians. It is with grief of heart that I think we shall be obliged to make use of this last remedy; that she may not be surprised, let her know this after the most Christian manner you possibly can do it. Let her know that when she shall be excommunicated by us for refusing to submit to Church discipline, she will be looked upon by Jesus Christ, whose ministers we are, as no member of His Church. Let her know that though she may go to another country, and to another Church, yet she cannot go from the wrath of God, which will follow her whithersoever she goes, while she remains impenitent, and separated from the body of Christ; and no Church, or society of Christians on earth, can absolve, or receive

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her into communion while she continues bound by our censure, which shall not pass upon her rashly, but deliberately and in the fear of God, without any worldly regard, but for the glory of God, and the good of her soul. I conjure you to lay these things home to her conscience, as you will answer it to our great Master, Jesus Christ; she is one of your flock, and one for whom Christ died; and if she will ruin herself, let not her blood lie at your door. I purpose within twenty days from the date of this letter, to call her before myself and such of my brethren as I shall appoint, and shall then proceed, as I shall be advised, to a further censure, for no consideration on earth shall divert me from keeping up the discipline of this Church while God permits me to preside over it. I desire you will read this letter to her more than once, and speak to her after such a way as to leave her without excuse. And I pray God sanctify this to her eternal welfare. I am,

"Your affectionate friend and brother in the Lord Jesus,

"THO. SODOR AND MAN."

"Pray keep this letter till our meeting, when I shall call for it."

"Pursuant to my Lord Bishop's injunctions, I read this letter several times to Mary Henricks, and laid the case home to her by warning her of the danger she was in, by persisting in her obstinacy. "JOHN CURGHY, Vicar."

The result was that by Sept. 13, Allgood was certified to have performed three of his penances "with great profession of sorrow and outward signs of repentance, to the satisfaction of the respective congregations:" in respect to which, and also to "his weak condition so well known to all, and in hopes that a just compassion for his circumstances may have a good effect upon him, I have thought fit," says the Bishop, "to suspend the remainder of his penances;" and then he gives directions for the man's being received into "the communion and peace of the Church," which was done, Sept. 23.

By the way, a curious circumstance occurred at the reconciliation of this Allgood, illustrative perhaps of the yet imperfect sympathy between the Bishop and some of those even whom he most trusted in administration of discipline:—

"At Kirk Braddan Church, Oct. 22, 1716, Mr. Curghy, Vicar (and Vicar-General), acquainted the Court that Isaac Allgood coming to be received into the peace of the Church without a penitential habit as the law requires, and his Summoner being absent, he, the said Vicar, not considering the irregularity of the

thing, did give directions for making use of the Communion Table-cloth instead of a sheet; in which he received the said penitent. But when he considered what he had done, and that this might justly give offence, he thought fit to let the Court know the truth of the matter, and withal protests that the surprise he was in to see an infirm man before him, and no Sumner attending, was the occasion of his fault, for which he is heartily sorry. These things considered, we do give strict orders that the said cloth (which the Vicar declares moreover to have been altogether tattered and useless) be never for the future laid on the Communion-table, nor applied to any use except to bury some poor corpse in; and that the Vicar do within two months procure at his own expense another decent cloth for the Communion-table. . . . THO. SODOR AND MAN. . . . To be published the next Lord's Day in the Chapel of Douglas."

In the meantime the other offender went on as one incorrigible, being, as is recorded in the Episcopal Register,—

"encouraged in her obstinacy by the Governor and Officers dining at her house at the public Courts, even when she was under Church censure for her adultery; also by the Comptroller's frequent private conferences with her, particularly at Mr. Harrison's, where they were shut up together for some hours, and at several times."

At length the Bishop on the 22nd of October felt himself obliged to excommunicate her. After reciting the presentment and censure, he says,—

"The said Mary Henricks having often since, but without effect, been exhorted, admonished, and required to submit to the said discipline, as offenders of this kind have hitherto done; and particularly, she having been legally cited to appear before us at Kirk Braddan on Monday the 22nd instant, there to be treated with touching her soul's welfare, where she utterly refused to appear, We have therefore, with the advice of our Vicars-General, and the clergy of our diocess abovesaid, most of them now present, In the Name of our Lord Jesus Christ, and by His authority, cut off and excommunicated the said Mary Henricks from the Body of Christ, which is His Church, and from all hopes of mercy through His merits, until she shall be reconciled by penance, and received by a judge that has authority so to do. And to the end that she may be held by the whole multitude of believers as an heathen and publican, and that all Christians (as they are obliged by the express command of the Apostle and the laws of the Church of which they are members, to refrain the company of persons excommu-

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nicated) may avoid all unnecessary communication with her, that she may be ashamed, We do require the Vicars of Kirk Braddan and Kirk Onchan, and the Chaplain of Douglas, to publish this our Act to their respective congregations, lest they be partakers of her guilt and punishment. And if the said Mary Henricks (which God forbid) should die under this dreadful sentence, we do require all our clergy to observe the rubrick before the office for the Burial of the Dead, and not to suffer her body to be interred among the faithful within any Church, or churchyard.—Given under our hand and seal episcopal this 22nd day of October, in the year of our Lord 1716, and of our consecration the nineteenth,

"THO. SODOR AND MAN."

"The Churchwardens of every parish are to take care that the within Mary Henricks be not suffered to come within any church or chapel whilst she continues excommunicate, which if she presume to do, the minister is not to proceed in reading Divine Service till she is removed out of the place of worship.

"*Bishop's Court, Oct.* 27, 1716.

"I send you the sentence of excommunication against Mary Henricks, and I do desire and require you to make the people, after the most plain and Christian manner, sensible of their duty on this occasion, viz. that as they are obliged by the Christian religion and the laws of this Church, to refrain the company and society of persons excommunicate, to the end that they may be ashamed, so they are bound by the same holy profession and Christian charity not to give them opprobrious language, or any evil usage, which may serve to harden them in their sin and contumacy, and make them less willing to return into a society, the members of which treat them with scorn and contempt instead of compassion.

"THO. SODOR AND MAN."

"To the Reverend Mr. Rosse, Mr. Curghy, and Mr. Gell."

From Oct. 28, on which day this sentence was promulgated, the judges waited until Dec. 11, before enforcing it in its temporal consequences. Then came the "final decree," as follows. The reader will forgive its being printed entire, as the circumstances of this important case seem to require an exact representation of the whole of it:—

"INSULA MANNIÆ.

"*Lib. Causarum pro Anno Domini* 1717.

"Mary Henricks of Douglas presented by the Churchwardens on the 29th of May last, and on the 5th of June following legally con-

victed of adultery with Isaac Allgood, was censured for that her enormous sin to undergo a due course of penance, in observance of the regular discipline of this Church, which she has been so far from yielding submission and obedience to, that by an (almost) unexampled degree of presumption and perverseness, she has hardened herself against all the methods taken for her reformation. Wherefore in Christian compassion to her soul, and that she might not be ignorant of her impending danger, her pastor, by directions from the Ordinary, exhorted her in the spirit of meekness (as he has certified under his hand) and admonished her of the real peril of her state, and that the consequence of her contumacy must be an utter excision from the Church of Christ. Notwithstanding which, she still persisted in stubbornness, and void of fear and grace, so as at last utterly to deny the authority of her spiritual governors, by a peremptory and contemptuous refusal to appear at the Court held the 22nd of October last, at Kirk Braddan, to which she was legally cited by the General Sumner.

"These, therefore, her flagrant instances of wickedness before mentioned, heightened by an uncommon defiance of the ecclesiastical authority instituted by our Lord Jesus Christ, extorted the dreadful sentence of excommunication passed upon her the said day, under which she has remorselessly and despitefully continued ever since insensible of the consequences of the said sentence, either with respect to this world or the other.

"As therefore the spiritual part of that tremendous censure is to affect her eternal state, and as the same has been passed in the Name of Christ and by the rules of His Gospel, so by the direction of the laws of this land it is expressly prescribed, and we do accordingly order the body of the said Mary Henricks to be, by the Sumner or a soldier, forthwith committed into St. German's prison; after which the constable of Peele garrison is to have notice, that she is thenceforth deemed and to be accounted the prisoner of the Right Honourable the Lord of this Island, to whom, according to law and for maintenance of his Lordship's prerogative, we do hereby deliver her over, both body and goods; of all which our Register is to advertise the Lord's Attorney-General and Constable of Peel garrison aforesaid, by a fair copy to each of them; that his Honour representing the Lord of this Isle may be apprized that the said excommunicated person is delivered over as aforesaid, and hereafter to be deemed the prisoner of the Lord of this Isle, as has been usual in such cases. Dated this 22nd [? 11th] of December, 1716.

"Tho. Sod. and Man; Wm. Walker; John Curghy."

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The delivery of the criminal in body as well as goods seems to have implied a kind of penal servitude either for life or for a term of years, as in the case of Christiana Hampton before mentioned, 1698.

Having allowed time for the Sumner to arrest the woman, and nothing being done, the Bishop next directs his Registrar to lay the proceedings before the Governor; and they must have reached him nearly at the same moment with a petition from Mary Henricks herself for redress: her allegations being that the censure had proceeded upon the false accusation of Allgood; that she had sought legal purgation several times, but in vain; that she had appealed twice to the Bishop, once out of prison, and once since the excommunication had been denounced, but neither appeal had been accepted:—

"Therefore your petitioner humbly prays your Honour would be graciously pleased to take her aggrievances into your advised consideration, and to grant her the liberty of an appeal to the Right Honourable James Earle of Derby, Lord of Mann and the Isles, for justice and redress herein, and that a reasonable time may be allowed her to make good the same according to the laws and customs of this Isle."

Thus the point was fairly raised whether the Earl was by the law supreme in causes purely spiritual, and the Governor and Bishop were committed to a course of something like mediæval warfare for years to come. For Horne lost no time in accepting the woman's appeal, apparently on the day of its presentation, December 20, consulting only those immediately around him:—

"Having taken advice of my Lord's Council and the Deemsters ... upon reading of an order made by the late Lord Strange in 1636, ... it is their opinion that an appeal doth therein lie only unto the Lord of the Isle, and not to the temporal officers, from the censures of the Spiritual Court."

They accept therefore the appeal for the present in Lord Derby's behalf, and allow the petitioner till the beginning of May to ascertain his Lordship's pleasure. The Attorney General to take an inventory of her goods, which might eventually be forfeited, and the proceedings of the Courts to be laid before the Lord.

His Lordship's opinion was long in coming, and in the meantime the woman remained at liberty, and nothing was done in the cause, with the exception of a pithy memorandum which may be now seen in Bishop Wilson's own handwriting on the back of Horne's acceptance of the petition as it appears in the Kirk Michael Registry,—

"N.B. No appeal to the Staff from Church censures by their own confession."

And certainly Earl James could not have expressed himself more unequivocally than he has in that ordinance:—

"Noe appeale shall hereafter be made from the Ecclesiastical Courts, to the Lieutenant, or to the Captain or his deputy, or to the Judges or 24 Keys, or any of them, for any cause depending or determined in the Ecclesiasticall Courts, which do merely concern government of the Church."

There might be a question whether or no, strictly speaking, such an ordinance, naming no authority but the Lord of the Isle, could have quite the validity of an insular statute. Of its interpretation there could be no question.

The Bishop's care to modify his censures.

Pending this serious controversy, the Bishop of course went on as before, modifying or aggravating his sentences on the same crime according to circumstances, but so far from experiencing any "pressure from without," that cases of voluntary confession, and satisfactory change after penance, appear to have occurred more and more frequently. Now we find him accepting the promises of an offender to "become a new man, by the grace of God, in all other respects as well as in this" (of adultery) "for which he has done public penance;" not without a significant hint to the clergyman, Vicar-General Curghy:—

"In case the said offender should forget the vows he has made, you are desired to remind him of his duty and obligations, and if he shall neglect to hear you, you will, I hope, think it your duty to acquaint me with it."

Now again, having to deal with an aggravated case of relapse into the same sin after Church censures, he at once excommunicates the offender, "that the society of Christians may utterly refrain his company, lest they share in his sin and punishment."

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Again, in two cases at the same time, (Feb. 28, 1716,) the plague of fornication with perjury having spread to his own house, he surrenders his servants, two men and two women, to be censured by his Vicars-General, himself only taking care, as I think we may gather from the details, that the punishment awarded should rather exceed than fall short of what was customary. And in each instance the male offender, as we have seen, returned voluntarily to the island, from which he had escaped, and submitted himself to penance.

Again, (Nov. 17,) a young man of Castletown has to recite a schedule, acknowledging with sorrow that he had grievously offended Almighty God, by sinning for the second time with a person with whom his own brother had committed the same sin before. A certain part of his penance being performed, the Bishop (Feb. 9) writes:—

"I desire the Vicar will have a very watchful eye over this young man's life and conversation, and to exhort him to observe the following Lent as the Church expects all her members should do, in fasting and prayer for the forgiveness of his sins; and if I find that he has followed the advice and Christian counsel that has and shall be given him during the season aforesaid, he shall be received into the peace of the Church on Palm Sunday; otherways he is to go through the whole censure without any mitigation."

The result is satisfactory:—

"Mr. Woods,—I rejoice to have so good an account of this young man's behaviour since he fell under the censures of the Church. Let him be received into the peace of the Church to-morrow," (Palm Sunday,) "according to the Form for Receiving Penitents. And may the blessing of God attend your labours. — Bishop's Court, Apr. 5, 1718."

In like manner, a few months before, the Bishop had written this order on the back of the petition of Ewan Looney, also of Kirk Malew, under censure (as it seems) for adultery:—

"Mr. Woods,—In consideration of the petitioner's Christian behaviour under the censures of the Church, and in hopes that a sober indulgence may have a better effect upon him and others

than the utmost severity, I do suspend the remainder of his penances, expecting and most earnestly desiring you to deal with him after a most serious manner, obliging him by all the argument taken from the consideration of a life to come, to forsake, not this sin, but every evil way; drunkenness, tippling, profaning God's Name, &c. Let him know that though these sins are not so scandalous in the eye of the world, yet that they will, if continued in, after admonition and conviction, as certainly shut him out of heaven as adultery. Oblige him, before you receive him into the peace of the Church, *to family devotion*, the want of which is the source of very many sins; and for God's sake keep a watchful eye upon his behaviour for the time to come; as when discipline does not restore [a man?] to the favour of God, his case is desperate, there being no other *ordinary means* left for his pardon and salvation. Let him perform penance on Sunday next, and afterwards (the same day) let him be received according to the Form for Receiving of Penitents.—Dated at Bishop's Court, Dec. 18, 1717."

There is much thoughtful gentleness also in the following, "written on Robert Davis's application:"—

"Mr. Allen,—Having taken into consideration the annexed certificate, and the testimony of Mr. Anthony Halsal, Chaplain of Douglas, of the same import; and being informed that this gentleman's affairs do require his presence in England as soon as may be; That we may, by a mitigation of his censure, and a just regard of his circumstances, lead him to repentance as well by kindness as severity: We have thought good to suspend the remainder of the censure, and do hereby appoint that he be received into the peace of the Church on Sunday next according to the Form appointed for Receiving of Penitents. And I do desire my reverend brother the Vicar of Kirk Maughold to do this.—Given at Bishop's Court, Nov. 23, 1717. "Tho. Sodor and Man.

"To the Reverend Mr. Allen, Vicar of Kirk Maughold."

Mr. Allen was the oldest clergyman in the island, and the Bishop words his conclusion accordingly.

He took opportunities this year of expressing his deep regard for Mr. Walker in particular, and in general his sense of the services of the Vicars-General in maintaining discipline with him; which services had been doubtless rendered much more laborious by his energy and strictness. To Walker he does honour in his mention of the addition to Ballaugh Church, already related. "The worthy Rector and I," he

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says, "engaged to finish it:" such a tone taken in his private memorandum seems to imply a special pleasure in acting with Walker. To the Vicars-General as such he assigned, Jan. 16, $17\frac{17}{18}$,—

"besides the salaries and other perquisites which they have hitherto enjoyed, the proxies" (i. e. I suppose, the Proctors' profits) "of Kirk Bride, Kirk Maughold, Kirk Christ Lezaire, and Ballaugh, to be by them received yearly as they become due." And this, "that they may be better enabled to discharge their duty, and more especially that part which concerns the godly discipline of this Church; that I may more effectually, by their advice and assistance, set forth as much as in me lieth, quietness, peace, and love among all men, and such as be unquiet, disobedient, and criminal within my diocese correct and punish, according to such authority as we have by God's Word and the laws of this Church."

This year ended with a sad case of adultery and incest—a man with his step-daughter—in Kirk Braddan parish. They were sentenced to be alternately committed for twenty-one days to St. German's prison, to do penance in all the churches, repeating a schedule of their crime, and to stand at the four market-crosses an hour at the height of the market in sackcloth, a white wand in their hand, and a paper upon their breast signifying their sin: which being worthily performed, they were to be received. The schedule makes them say,—

"I humbly beg your prayers for me, that I may become a true penitent *all the days of my life*, as becomes so great a sinner; and that you will intercede for me, that I may be received into the peace of the Church after I have given such public satisfaction as the Governors of the Church shall require."

Death of Earl William's widow.

All this while the appeal from Mary Henricks was hanging over the Bishop's head, and matters were gradually tending towards a more decided rupture between him and the Lord of the Isle. Those members of the Derby family who might be supposed for various reasons likely to exert what influence they might have on the side of reverence and peace, were being one by one taken away. Colonel Charles Stanley, the Earl's only brother, had died in 1715; and in 1717, July 5, the Bishop's old friend, Earl William's widow, died also at

her house in London, having first made her will, wherein she desires to be buried in King Henry VII.'s Chapel, by the side of her daughter Elisabeth, and enjoins that her funeral expences shall not exceed £200. There are liberal bequests to servants, £100 to the Gospel Propagation Society, and £150 to that for Redemption of Slaves, donations to the poor of Brentford and Kew, and £50 to Mr. Hayward "who reads prayers for me." Thus of the family with which Wilson had been intimate at Knowsley one only was left remaining, the Lady Henrietta, now Countess of Ashburnham, with her little daughter of the same name, who had become presumptive heiress of the island. The Countess was buried according to her desire in the "Ormonde Vault" in Westminster Abbey, July 12[g]. CHAP. XI.

Lord Derby summons the Bishop to London.

On the 30th, Lord Derby signed a paper formally accepting Mary Henrick's appeal, and appointing the 23rd of the ensuing December for the day of hearing it in London. In September a correspondence took place on the subject between the Bishop and the Governor. The Bishop it seems had complained, Sept. 5, of the appeal having been forwarded to the Lord of the Isle without first hearing what the spiritual officers had to allege against such a step. Horne's answer is moderate, and not ungentlemanly in tone, whatever one may think of its reasoning:—

"*Castle Rushen, Sept.* 7, 1717.

"My Lord,—I received your Lordship's letter of the 5th of this month, and I can assure your Lordship that the liberty given to Mary Hendrick, to appeal to my Lord Derby, without your being present, was not done with a design to prevent hearing any reasons that might be offered by the Spiritual Court, for I always understood that your Lordship had been acquainted with her appeal both by herself and others; and if I had thought that your Lordship, or the Spiritual Officers, had any reason to offer against it, I should have been very ready to have considered them: but as I heard nothing of that, so upon consideration of the precedents produced, before my Lord's order, relating to Spiritual Appeals, and the order itself, I was convinced that though the Lord prohibited appeals of that kind from the Governor, Officers, Deemsters, &c., yet he had not debarred it from himself. Its true the preface

[g] Dart's Westminster Abbey, ii. 56.

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to that order mentions the Lord, but the order itself doth not; and if that admit of a dispute, it lies in a very proper place, before my Lord, to clear up that point, viz. the act of his predecessors wherein his own prerogative is concerned. This was the opinion of those of the council I advised with, and your Lordship knows the Deemsters' opinion (which in matters of law I am obliged to have) was agreeable thereto, and I do not doubt but my Lord Derby (before whom the appeal lies) will duly consider what your Lordship has said, or may say, in this matter before he gives his judgment; and then I hope cases of this kind will be so settled as to prevent any disputes of this nature for the future; for I assure your Lordship I do not delight therein; but if a person whose life and estate was concerned had any relief by the law or practice of this island, I could not have been easy to debar it. I for my part shall always have such a tender regard for the ecclesiastical authority as becomes me; but as the matter lies not before us here, but before my Lord Derby, so I hope and do not doubt but his Lordship will, as his predecessors have done, have the same regard to the Spiritual Court, and prevent any consequences that your Lordship seems to apprehend, that may tend to the diminution of the discipline or authority thereof. I am with all due respect,

"My Lord, your Lordship's most humble servant,

"ALEXR HORNE."

"To the Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of this Isle, &c."

So the appeal went on, but the Bishop not appearing by himself or his Proctor on the day appointed, nothing further was done in respect of it for many months.

When Easter-day (1718) came, on which day it seems to have been then customary with him to preach at Castletown, before what might be called the Insular Court, he delivered the Sermon which is now numbered 70 in his printed works, in which he deals with the evidences of our Lord's resurrection in a way which would seem to indicate that he was aware of tendencies more or less sceptical in his audience. Any such forebodings on his part were soon too amply justified.

June 5, he held his Annual Convocation, which seems for whatever cause to have been intermitted the year before. His heart and mind were now full of his discipline, now so distinctly put on its trial; and the memoranda of that day shew his anxiety to carry his clergy along with him:—

"1. Whereas it is found that persons under the censures of the

Church for the scandalous sins of adultery, repeated fornication, &c., are oftentimes very pressing to be restored, even before there be a moral assurance of their being throughly touched with the heinousness of their sins: It is now decreed that such offenders shall from time to time be privately admonished by their respective pastors, and made sensible of the danger they incur by a feigned repentance, and that their solicitations for a mitigation of their censures be repelled for some months, or until there be just cause to hope that they are truly penitent, and resolve to live more sober and regular lives for the future.—And the clergy are (among their other exhortations) to admonish such offenders to mortify themselves by fasting, and by refraining public houses and diversions during the course of their penance.

"2. When persons are presented for scandalous sins, the Rector, or Vicar, or other Incumbent shall some time before the Chapter Court privately advertise them of it, and endeavour to prepare them for a meek and humble behaviour, when they are reprimanded, or admonished by the Ecclesiastical Officers.

"3. Antenuptial fornication is to be hereafter subject to ecclesiastical censures, and the offenders to wear the sheet as other fornicators."

His gentle and circumspect dealing was evident in a warning which he gave about this time to the chaplains at the three military stations not to omit the Bidding Prayer before sermon, which some had allowed themselves to do, and had thereby incurred the suspicion of Jacobitism.

Two of his Clergy charged with Romanism.

But it soon appeared that the dissatisfaction of the Governor and of others like-minded with him had a far deeper and wider root than any mere political feeling. The educational institution at Castletown, founded by Bishop Barrow, was at that time superintended by two clergymen, William Ross and Alexander Macon; the former as academic master, the latter as schoolmaster: Mr. Macon was also, as we have seen, Chaplain at Castletown. Both were known to be in the Bishop's confidence, and were watched accordingly by those who sought to find occasion against him: nor could it be any surprise at all to him, when early in October he received a communication, the substance of which he details in the following letter:—

"*Oct. the 7th*, 1718.

"Mr. Rosse and Mr. Macon,—Complaint having been made to

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me by the Governor that you two have advanced some opinions which savour of Popery, I am obliged by my Consecration vows to enquire into this matter, that I may banish and drive away all erroneous and strange doctrine contrary to God's Word, (as all truly Popish doctrines are). I do therefore require you to meet me and some of my brethren at the Cathedral the 15th instant, to know what you have to say to this charge, which in substance is, That you, Mr. Rosse, speaking of Baptism, uttered several unwarrantable things, and argued, as 'tis said, rather like a Papist than a Protestant; and that you, Mr. Macon, preached a sermon in the Chapel of Castletowne, concerning Confession and Absolution, which seemed very much to favour the cause and errors of Popery, in these two points. I am also to know of you why you did not comply with my first orders touching the observation of the 55th Canon in your prayer before sermon? There are some other things for which you have been blamed, but these are not cognizable before me, being of a civil nature. In the mean time I shall only tell you that when you shall be legally convicted of anything blameworthy on that head, you must expect to hear more from me.

"I am your affectionate friend and brother,

"THO. SODOR AND MAN."

"To the Reverend Mr. Rosse, Academick Professor, and to Mr. Macon, Schoolmaster of Castletowne, these."

The next day he repeated his summons through Mr. Woods, his Registrar, to whom he describes the complaint as "touching some unorthodox opinions which" the two clergymen "were said to hold and maintain." He makes the hearing as solemn and serious as possible: "I shall appoint some of the clergy to meet me, together with the Vicars-General, &c." And he concludes with a message which shews his anxiety to go on peaceably: "I desire you will give my humble service to the Governor, and acquaint him with this my purpose."

They appeared accordingly, and the cause was heard at large, in the choir probably, not yet become too ruinous. I give the pleadings of the two defendants, as recorded at length in the Episcopal Register. They serve to illustrate Bishop Wilson's views on the matters called in question; and they remind one, curiously enough, of certain later proceedings of much the same aspect, and with much the same theological bearings.

"*The Rev. Mr. Ross's Defence.*

"My Lord, In obedience to your Lordship I present myself before you to vindicate myself from such a calumny as I never dreamed I could have been charged with. I understand that I have been represented to your Lordship as a Papist, which paints me as the vilest of hypocrites, considering my oaths and subscriptions, and the solemn vows I took upon me, before you my diocesan, (Christ's representative here on earth,) in the face of the world.

"My Lord, to have been called a Papist in a country where Presbytery has the ascendant, would not have much troubled me, it being the appellation commonly bestowed upon those who heartily love the Church of England; but I am uneasy that I should be branded with this character in a country so free from Dissenters of all sorts, that (excepting strangers, and one or two small families of the natives) none separate from the Church. In a country which is the purest branch of the purest Church under heaven, and in a diocess which for uniformity cannot be paralleled in the Christian world;—to be called a Papist here, and complained of to my Bishop under this odious name, truly grieves me.

"But what have I done that deserves this? Have I done any act which no clergyman but a popish priest would do? Have I at any time maintained the Pope's supremacy or infallibility? Have I maintained Transubstantiation, the Communion in one kind, purgatory, or any other of the gross corruptions of the Church of Rome, to be true doctrines? Nothing of this kind is laid to my charge; I thank God I can defy the world to prove any such thing against me: what then is it I am charged with? It is because, in answer to a question, I called the baptism of a Popish priest valid, and that of a Presbyterian minister invalid.

"Now does it become a minister of Christ in answering a serious question, and of very great consequence, to prevaricate, and not tell plainly what in his conscience he thinks truth, merely for fear that his opinion should be thought Popish? What if an orthodox divine should answer a question just as a Papist would do? If the answer is true, does it become false because it is the opinion of the Papists? Must not I believe in God, and that He created the world? must not I believe the Incarnation of the Son of God, and that He is God equal with the Father? must not I believe the resurrection of the body, and that there is a life after this, because the Church of Rome believes these great truths? Suppose then what I said had been really in every point what is maintained by the Church of Rome: must it for that only reason be false? Surely

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not; for if it cannot from sound orthodox principles be proved false, it will be truth whoever maintains it. But that my answer, and the reason I gave for it, is the doctrine of the Church of England, and the contrary truly Popish, I hope I shall plainly shew.

"Had I foreseen, my Lord, that I should have been accused for words spoken by me at a gentleman's table, and even many months after they were spoken; though I certainly would have answered this question, or any other of the like concern plainly, yet at the same time I would have taken care to have remembered all the circumstances of the discourse, which must be owned are very material, and even necessary, when a man is put to defend his living and reputation, as dear to him as his life.

"My Lord, I cannot call to mind, at such distance, upon what occasion the question was proposed, but I very well remember it was asked me, 'Would you rather a Popish priest than a Presbyterian minister should baptize your child?' And that my answer was, 'I would make neither my choice, but were I in such a strait, I would have my child baptized by a Popish priest; for this reason, because the Church of Rome is a Church, though a very corrupt Church, but the Presbyterians have no ministers, and therefore no sacraments.' If I have missed in any of the words, (which I think I have not.) I am positive I have given the true sense of them. This is what I am accused for, to wit, for giving a direct answer to a material question (truly a case of conscience) exactly agreeable to the true sense of the Church of England, and in that part of the answer which is most material, plainly contrary to the sense of the Church of Rome, as I hope I shall make appear by shewing:—

"First, that the Church of England allows the orders of the Church of Rome to be valid, and looks upon the Presbyterian ordination invalid, and their teachers to be mere laymen. Secondly, that she utterly denies the validity of Baptism by lay hands, and that the Church of Rome allows and approves it.

"Were I only to give your Lordship satisfaction, the naming these things were a sufficient vindication; it would be also needless to bring arguments to prove these particulars to satisfy you, my brethren of the clergy, who are so well acquainted with the doctrine of the Church, and not strangers to the controversies that are betwixt her and those that separate from her, especially Papists and Presbyterians, the two grand enemies of our constitution. It is not therefore for your sakes that I offer to prove these things; but being called before my Bishop to give an account of my principles, because there may be some present who neither have time

nor opportunity strictly to enquire into such things, or how nearly they are concerned in their consequences, I think I am obliged by the laws of our holy religion, both in my own vindication and in charity to others, not only to name my principles, but to give reasons for them, leaving it to all judicious and orthodox Christians to judge if the charge of Popery be justly laid against me.

"First, that the orders of the Church of Rome are good and valid will need very little proof, being acknowledged not only by the Church of England, but by the Presbyterians themselves. If the ordinations of the Church of Rome are not valid, the Church of England has no orders; we pretend to no other but what we received from them, and therefore when any of the Romish clergy come over to our Church, they are obliged publicly to renounce their errors, but they receive no new orders. On the other hand, when a Presbyterian, or any other dissenting teacher, relinquishes his schism and comes over to the Church, he is never admitted to perform any ministerial act until he is ordained:—which is not to qualify him, or put him in a capacity to receive a benefice, and publicly to exercise his ministry by the laws of the land, as the Presbyterian teachers would have their followers believe, (in this sense it would be re-ordination, to which the Church is a stranger:) —no, it is because there is no ordination but what is episcopal; for it were criminal and sinful in a Bishop to confer orders upon one, if he thought he already had power and commission from Christ to perform all these ministerial acts, which he in Christ's name authorizes him to perform by his imposition of hands. This were a jesting with, nay, profaning the most sacred things. And whatever the Presbyterians may allege for the validity of their orders from the testimony of particular divines of our Church, (however high their station is in the Church,) it amounts to no more but a private opinion, it is not the opinion of the Church of England; for she plainly tells us in one of her laws (to wit, the preface to her Book of Ordination) that none shall be suffered to execute any of the functions [of a bishop, priest, or deacon] except he hath had formerly episcopal consecration or ordination; and by her appealing (in this preface) to the Holy Scriptures and antiquity, she shews us that it is her true sense that none can execute any of the functions of the ministry but such as are episcopally ordained: so that she looks upon the dissenting teachers to be mere laymen because they want episcopal ordination.

"And now I come to shew that the Church utterly denies the validity of Baptism by lay hands: this we learn from her public acts, to wit, her Articles of Religion, Canons, and Rubrics.

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"The Thirty-nine Articles contain the true doctrine of the Church of England, agreeable to God's Word, so that they cannot be *allowed* at pleasure, being composed for establishing consent touching true religion; and therefore whatever is in them declared to be lawful or unlawful, is certainly in the sense of the Church lawful or unlawful by the Word of God.

"The 23rd Article tells us that it is not lawful for any man to take upon him the office of ministering the Sacraments before he be lawfully called and sent to execute the same. The 26th, that the minister of the Sacraments does not minister the same in his own name, but in Christ's, and by His commission and authority, and that the Sacraments be effectual because of Christ's institution and promise; and the 27th Article, that we are possessed of great privileges by being rightly baptized, and that they are conveyed to us as by an instrument visibly signed and sealed.

"I have shewn you that the Church allows none to be a lawful minister but who is episcopally ordained, and here you see in her Articles, she allows of no baptism but what is performed by such; that no baptism is valid but by one acting in Christ's name and by His commission and authority, and that it is Christ's institution and promise that makes the baptism effectual. Now the institution of Baptism here referred to is in St. Matthew xxviii. 19, 'Go ye therefore and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost,' and the promise in the next verse, 'Lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world.' Now it is to the Apostles and their successors that this commission is given; and to them and them only the promise is made. So that whoever attempts to baptize without a lawful commission, that is, without authority from the successors of the Apostles, the Bishops, wants the cause sufficient to make his ministration effectual: without episcopal ordination he is none of Christ's substitutes, and therefore cannot sign and seal in His name (as our Church expresses it) those inestimable privileges conveyed to those that are rightly baptized; such a baptism is not that instituted in the Gospel; it is no Christian baptism, but a mere washing.

"The institution of this Sacrament makes the authority of the minister as essential as the water or words; and therefore if this is wanting, the whole is null and void. Confirmation cannot supply this defect; no act of the Bishop can make that valid baptism which is no baptism; for unless the person is baptized according to Christ's institution, Confirmation can never of itself make it effectual; but indeed the office of Confirmation supposes that the person to be confirmed has been rightly baptized. By which it is

natural to conclude, that he who is not baptized has no benefit by the Confirmation.

"Again, the Church in her Canons allows of no baptism without a lawful minister: it is his baptizing in due form that makes it valid: (Canon 30th.) It is he only that is censured if the child dies unbaptized through his fault: (Canon 69th.) In private baptism it is only a lawful minister that is to be called, and it is very remarkable that, when the child is brought to the church, though by the rubric it is supposed to have been baptized by a lawful minister, yet the very first question the minister of the parish is to ask, is, 'By whom was this child baptized?' Plainly intimating how careful the Church is to give the congregation satisfaction that no essential part of the institution is wanting, but that all is well done and according to due order; which the minister could not certify were the child baptized by one that is not episcopally ordained, but must proceed to the baptism.

"The Presbyterians condemn Baptism by lay hands as much as we do. They are sensible that the minister is an essential part of the institution; they cannot but know that no human authority can determine one essential part of a divine positive institution to be more necessary than another: they are sensible that to allow of their baptism (as the advocates of Baptism by lay hands do) and at the same time deny them a power to administer the other Sacrament, &c., is very inconsequential, and destroys the necessity of a priesthood; they do also acknowledge that no man can take upon him the office of the ministry, without a lawful call either ordinary or extraordinary, and therefore not only the dissenting teachers but even their followers think the Church of England and her writers very uncharitable in denying the validity of their ordinations, thereby nulling their ministrations; for if they are not Christ's ministers, they know they have no power to administer the Sacraments, &c. The Presbyterians are very sensible that one is a consequence of the other. This makes their writers toil so hard (though to no purpose) to vindicate the validity of their ordination. Some of their arguments, and even [those?] that most prevail with the vulgar, are their railings against the Church of England. The government of the Church by bishops is no other (with them) than the Popish antichristian hierarchy; the Common Prayer the Mass-book; the bishops limbs of Antichrist, and the surplice a rag of the scarlet whore. These are hard words; but Popery is the cry by which they delude their proselytes, who know very little of it but the name.

"Now because I said that were I in a strait, I would rather that

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a Popish priest (who has va'id orders) should baptize my child than a Presbyterian minister (who is a mere layman), I must therefore be a Papist. But am I a Papist for maintaining a doctrine professed by the Church of England, agreeable to the Word of God, and directly contrary to Popery? Any body that knows what Popery is, must needs know that Baptism by lay hands is one of the corruptions of the Church of Rome, not only connived at, but publicly declared by her in her Canons (now in force as part of her laws) that she allows the validity of it.

"My Lord, I was baptized and educated in the Episcopal Church of Scotland, and never separated from her when I was in that country. I look upon the government of bishops over presbyters to have been settled in the Church by Christ and His Apostles, for in my little reading I never could find any footsteps of the Presbyterian parity for the first fifteen hundred years of Christianity. I always thought that the want of that uniformity which the Church of England enjoys by her excellent Liturgy was an imperfection in the constitution of the Church of Scotland; and I declare that I am fully persuaded in my conscience that the Church of England as reformed from Popery, and by law established, is the best constituted Church now in the world.

"I do further solemnly protest before God, who knows the sincerity of my heart, as I hope for mercy at the day of judgment, that I never in my life had the least inclination to Popery, (as distinguished from the Church of England); but ever since I was capable to understand plain texts of Scripture, and with any judgment to examine an argument, I have always been and am fully convinced that the Church of Rome is grossly corrupted throughout her whole constitution, and that she is in her worship idolatrous; and I truly look upon the members of that Church to be in a most dangerous state. I pray God forgive the authors of this calumny against me: I heartily forgive them.

"And now, as I hope your Lordship will believe that I have spoken the thoughts of my heart sincerely, without prevarication or equivocation, so I hope you will think fit to clear me publicly of this gross aspersion, which will give very great quiet and satisfaction to My Lord,

"Your Lordship's most obedient and most dutiful Servant,

"WILL. ROSS."

"*Rev. James Macon's Defence.*

"My Lord,—It is in deference to your Lordship's order that I appear here this day, to answer a charge I never once imagined

should be brought against me, having never given any reasonable grounds for so foul an aspersion. And it is my great misfortune, my Lord, that it is not your Lordship, my brethren here present, nor those who best know me, that I am to give satisfaction to; for then, I should hope, my conversation has been such as that neither your Lordship nor they have any reason to question my sincerity, as to what at this time I shall declare to you, in relation to what is alleged against me;—but that I have others also to convince, who have so indifferent an opinion of me, as to esteem me a Papist, and therefore cannot suppose they will have any regard for what I shall say against it. Yet this is my great comfort, that what they charge on me in particular as Popery is as heavy an imputation on the laws, the Liturgy, and all the orthodox clergy of these realms, as on me. So I shall only to gratifie your Lordship, the rest of my brethren, and all who are unprejudiced, answer severally to the charge exhibited against me, which is,—

"I. That I had contemned your Lordship's first order, touching the 55th Canon.

"II. That I had preached a Popish sermon, on occasion of recommending the Common Prayer, using then such expressions concerning confession and absolution as were downright Popery.

"III. That I am certainly a Papist.

"To which I make my reply thus:—

"1st. As to your Lordship's order concerning the 55th Canon; my not using of it was not out of any contempt of your Lordship's authority. And I hope your Lordship will be prevailed upon to think so; considering that I prayed daily for the Government in the Morning and Evening Prayers, which differ not in sense from the Canon, and for that I understood that the Canon, in the opinion of some learned men, was designed only for such as preached, and had not, before sermon, officiated in divine service, and therefore could not think it so obligatory upon me; and especially, because I immediately complied with your Lordship's injunction, enforcing your first order, and would have continued to do so, if so great offence had not been taken at me, that I thought it proper for peace' sake, and to give no further occasion of offence, to lay down the chaplainship.

"2. As to the Sermon which is so hardly censured, I have transcribed the paragraph which relates to confession and absolution, and hereto annexed it for perusal; and with all due respect submit it to the censure of your Lordship and the Court. And I am ready to affirm upon oath, that the doctrine therein concerning confession and absolution, is the same I preached in Castletown Chapel.

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"3. As to the last thing laid to my charge, viz. that I am certainly a Papist, all the answer I think it deserves is, that I am positively sure I am not; if thereby be meant (and I know nothing else can make me a Papist) that I am a favourer of those principles and practices in the Romish Church which our Church, when she reformed, with just abhorrence rejected. And here, for your satisfaction, I embrace this opportunity to declare that I take the Church of Rome to be novel, absurd, and corrupt in her doctrine, discipline, and worship, and that I detest, abominate, and renounce all and every of her errors in relation hereto, and that I apprehend her state to be so very deplorable, that sooner than unite with her (were there no other Church in the world to join myself to) I should rather choose to live in a state of segregation: which, to you and all who are truly sensible of the benefits and advantages of Church communion, must be demonstration of my real aversion to Popery. This is all I think necessary to say to a charge so general. And I hope, in consideration of this my declaration, that your Lordship, the rest of my brethren, and all who are candid, will have that charity for me, as to believe that I am not what I am represented to be, a Papist; nor, upon the whole, think that I am contemptuous and refractory to the commands of my superiors; but believe that I am,

"My Lord,

"Your Lordship's and the Court's most dutiful Servant,

"James Makon.

"This is the paragraph mentioned under the second head, taken out of Dr. Bisse, Preacher at the Rolls, and Chaplain to his present Majesty:—

"'Secondly, let me exhort you to give all diligence to come to church before the confession, otherwise you lose the great benefit of absolution. For though there be other short confessions of sin, as in the Litany, yet there is appointed no other absolution. I call the benefit of absolution great, because it sanctifies your persons, which sanctifies all your offerings. To set this in a true emblem before you, which may justly affect and last upon your thoughts—Every person when he stands before God is to be looked upon, like Joshua the high-priest, as clothed in filthy garments. But after he hath confessed and repented of his sins, then the Lord saith to the priest appointed to pronounce the absolution, as He did to those that stood by Joshua, "Take away the filthy garments from him[h]." And to the person himself thus absolved He saith, as He did to Joshua, "Behold, I have caused thine iniquity to pass from thee,

[h] Zech. iii. 3, 4.

and I will clothe thee with change of raiment." They therefore that come in after absolution, however they may come prepared and arrayed in their own righteousness, yet ought to look upon themselves still as clothed in filthy garments. For what is all our righteousness in the sight of God? The Prophet answers—"It is filthy rags[1]." ' "

Here is the result:—

"At the Cathedral in Peel, October the 15th, 1718—present, the Right Reverend Father in God Dr. Thomas Wilson, by Divine permission Lord Bishop of this Diocese; also the Rev. Mr. William Walker and Mr. John Curghy, Vicars-General; Mr. Charles Watleworth, Official; and Mr. Jo. Woods, Episcopal Registrar; together with Mr. Wm. Gell, Archdeacon's Registrar; Mr. Jo. Cosnahan, Vicar of St. Anne; Mr. Matthias Curghy, Vicar of Patrick and German; Mr. Henry Allen of Lezaire; Mr. Jo. Quayle of Rushin; and Mr. Robert Parr, Vicar of Kirk Arbory: Having duly considered what these two gentlemen, Mr. Ross and Mr. Makon, now before us, have offered in their own defence, and the solemn declarations they have given under their own hands, and hereunto annexed, of their utter abhorrence of all truly Popish opinions and doctrines rejected by the Church of England, and being convinced of their sincerity herein by their sober lives and conversation, of which we have all been witnesses for many years past; We do therefore declare that there is no reason, to us appearing or known, to charge them with Popery, or even of being Popishly affected.

"Signed, by Order, J. Wood, Reg. Episc."

The judgment of course does not indorse all the statements and arguments of the defence. It simply declares them, what they obviously are, not untenable in the Church of England. At the same time, considering the defendants' position, (that of Mr. Ross especially,) one cannot doubt that in the main their teaching harmonized with Bishop Wilson's, and that he must be counted (so far) among the most exclusive of the "High-Churchmen" of the day.

[1] Isa. lxiv. 6.

CHAPTER XII.

PROGRESS OF THE HENDRICKS CASE. VOYAGE TO ENGLAND AND RETURN. 1718—1720.

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Before this business came on, that of Mary Hendricks had revived. On Aug. 16 the Governor and some of his officers advise the Lord of the Isle that, the Bishop and Vicars-General having ignored his summons to London in the preceding December,—

"we have viewed and considered of several precedents of record, touching appeals from Church censures to your Lordship;" and we "humbly give our opinions that your Lordship by your order may require the spiritual officers not only to surcease any further proceedings against the above appellant, but also to absolve her from the said excommunication, whereby she may be capable in law to answer what may be laid to her charge."

This remarkable document is signed by Mr. Rowe the Comptroller, Mr. Seddon the Water Bailiff, and the two Deemsters, Daniel M'Ylrea and Charles Moore, as well as by the Governor. It was followed up, Sept. 17, by an order from Castle Rushen, which after reciting the facts, and stating that

"the person appealing ought to have been absolved from the censure of excommunication, whereby she might be capable of law and at liberty to plead for herself," goes on to say, "his Lordship having ordered his officers here not to molest her in body and goods, and to protect her from abuse, I do order that no person whatever shall anywise molest, insult, or disturb the said Mary Hendricks, as they will answer the same at their peril."

And the Coroner is ordered to "publish this at the market-cross of Douglas, and in Kirk Braddan Church;" thus making the opposition between the two authorities as public and scandalous as possible.

The Bishop and Governor's debate touching Appeals.

The Bishop seems at this stage of the affair to have remained passive, taking no notice: and the popular feeling (as will appear by and by) was decidedly in his favour. The Governor felt himself bound to go on, and his next step, as described by Rowe and Seddon in a memorandum in the Rolls Office, was

"calling the Bishop before us to give his reasons why my Lord Derby's order was not complied with in relation to the hearing of the appeal of Mary Hendricks before his Lordship."

This was at Peeltown, October 3; not however without previous notice to the Bishop, and that accompanied with a document on which his adversaries rested a great part of their cause. It is an answer of certain spiritual officers to the queries of a Deputy Governor in 1627 :—

"By the ancient and accustomary laws of this isle, any inhabitor finding himself aggrieved by any censure or proceeding held against him in the spiritual court, may, upon the same, appeal unto the Lord his staff of government here, and further, as occasion shall be offered, unto the Lord himself; for this is a prerogative.

"Upon which appeal exhibited, the staff of government may prohibit the spiritual officers for any further proceedings or intermeddling therewith until an indifferent trial may be had concerning the same, so the same be done within a convenient time without prejudice to any party. But and if the Lord of the Soyle [?Isle] please, upon any complaint of appeal or petition, to grant any trial in law to be made by his prime officers and 24 Keys against any former proceedings or censure by the spiritualty proceeded in, although they have proceeded both in suspension and excommunication, which is the furthest point of the law that they can proceed in, but only deliver both the party and cause to the Lord; then we say it is the Lord's prerogative royal, upon the sight of his warrant or reference sent over to his temporal officers for trial, that the spiritualty do not only surcease, but also absolve and in law dispense with the party, whereby he may be capable of law and at liberty to plead for himself. And this we say is the Lord's prerogative, as before, in respect the party in that danger running is only at the Lord's mercy for his body and goods upon trial, which the Lord at his pleasure may give or take the same without the controlment of any; for the spiritualty hath no further power over the party or his cause, but as before.

"Mr. Norris and Mr. Crow,—

"If these propositions above written be law, and the Lord's prerogative royal; then I require you, in the Lord's name, as you are sworn, to subscribe your names thereunto.

"Edw. Fletcher."

They reply,—

"All such propositions as are demanded of us here to be answered concerning the premises, is law, and we say that the

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Honourable Patron and Lord of this Isle by prerogative may ... call to his Honourable Court temporal any spiritual officer to answer that Court, according as ever hath been in our time; and for to certify our knowledge we have subscribed our names, the 30th of July, 1627. Wm. Norres, Vicar-General.
Wm. Crow, Official."

The Bishop forwards this to his own officers, for their opinion:—

"I am given to understand that the opinion above written is looked upon by the Civil Government as the law of this land; and that it is expected of me that I should, pursuant thereunto, upon an order from the Lord of the Isle, not only attend a trial in England, but also absolve any person appealing, though never so justly and according to the laws of the Gospel and my consecration vows excommunicated, whether for whoredom, adultery, contumacy, or any other crimes of mere ecclesiastical cognizance, and although the offender persists in denying our authority. Now, forasmuch as you, Mr. Archdeacon, are above seventy years of age, and have a great part of that time been concerned in the ecclesiastical courts as Episcopal Register, Vicar-General, &c., and you, Mr. Curghy and Mr. Walker, are at present the sworn judges of the ecclesiastical laws within this isle, I desire your judgment touching the aforesaid opinion; that, comparing the same with the late proceeding in the case of Mary Hendricks, it may appear whether the rules of law and justice have, in every respect, been observed or not.

"For it appears to me utterly inconsistent with all rules of discipline, as well as with the power of binding and loosing committed by Jesus Christ to the governors of His Church, that a Bishop should be required to absolve a person whom he has been forced to excommunicate for refusing to obey the spiritual censures of the Church, without the offender's shewing any remorse, or signs of repentance and submission."

The Archdeacon and Vicars-General reply:—

"May it please your Lordship,—The foregoing writing found in the Exchequer-book, anno 1627,—being only the opinion of one Vicar-General, (for Mr. Crow was but Official at that time, and consequently no judge of matters of excommunication, as the laws of the isle declare,) and the same being drawn up by Deputy Governor Fletcher,—was sent by way of letter, and required to be signed, in order to justify the temporal officers' encroachment on the spiritualty, as is evident by the annexed order of the Lord, recorded by his Lordship's special command in the year following,

viz. 1628, where the propositions laid down in the said opinion are condemned as erroneous, in as plain words as can be set down in writing. And if they were not so, there is no magistrate of this isle will affirm that the opinion of one Deemster or one Vicar-General, whether true or false, or whether the man who gives it be honest or dishonest, and that opinion too not delivered in Court, but sent by way of letter, shall have the force of a law to bind posterity, especially when in this case the Bishop, Archdeacon and whole clergy were not consulted, as the laws of the isle require, in establishing all matters relating to spiritual concerns.

"The said opinion is also erroneous, inasmuch as the same is expressly repugnant to the law of God, which places the power of the Keys, viz. the authority of binding and loosing in matters purely spiritual, in the governors and pastors of the Church, without any derivation of power to that purpose from the civil magistrate. And surely the most ignorant Christians do know that whatever injunction is contrary to God's law is void of course, and not binding by oath or otherwise on the conscience of any Christian magistrate.

"The said opinion likewise (should it take place) is utterly destructive of one of the fundamental doctrines of the Church of England, set forth in one of the Thirty-nine Articles, to which all divines of the Church of Mann are by their vows and subscriptions strictly bound to adhere. The said Article, viz. the XXXIIIrd, declaring that persons who by open denunciation of the Church are rightly excommunicated are to be taken of the whole multitude of the faithful as heathens and publicans, until they be openly reconciled by penance, and received again into the Church of Christ. Now if Mary Hendricks was not rightly excommunicated, no person ever was so since the establishment of Christianity; for, besides her being duly convicted of adultery, and that her partner in wickedness confessed, and would have sworn his guilt, and underwent a severe course of penance for the same, she, the said Mary, added also to her other crimes the most outrageous contumacy, utterly denying and defying the ecclesiastical authority over her, and contemptuously refusing to appear upon the citation, though professing herself before a member of the established communion in this diocese. In all cases therefore of this nature, and in all criminal matters whatever, we presume that no judge of any Court, spiritual or temporal, his authority being denied and defied, proceeds to any further examination of the cause, but directly to pass sentence for the punishment of the offender, according to the nature of the crime, and his demerit.

"And as the foregoing opinion appears to be contrary to the

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law of God and the fundamental doctrine of the Church; so also we say and affirm, that we never saw or heard of any statute, or customary law within this isle, to warrant the same; on the contrary, we always understood the said opinion, besides its being condemned by the order of the Lord, anno 1628[k], to have been utterly made void by another order (hereunto annexed) of the year 1636, which was received as law into the body of the Statute-book, and confirmed (as we conceive) among other laws by the whole legislature, anno 1637, whereby such a restraint was laid on appeals to the temporalty in cases purely spiritual, as that the first thing complained of in the said law was, that the execution of justice and punishment of offenders was of late much delayed by unnecessary appeals to the Lord of the Isle himself; by which all men of reason must understand that that practice was for the future to cease, else why was the grievance of appeals to the Lord the first thing set down in the said law which wanted to be redressed[l]?

"Lastly, we do further say, that even in controversies concerning goods and chattels, where appeals do unquestionably lie, not to the metropolitical see of York, but to the staff of government, or to the Lord of the Isle, as there is occasion; even in these cases we never saw or heard of any statute or customary law, or the least precedent or injunction, whereby the Lord Bishop or any spiritual officer, or any person in their behalf, was obliged to attend in England during the trial of such appeals; nor did we ever hear, conceive, or apprehend that by any law or custom of this isle any person excommunicated within this diocese was ever absolved by the Lord Bishop, or his substitutes, from the dreadful anathema, by virtue of any order or injunction from the Lord of the Isle, or his officers; but altogether upon the party's submission and repentance, according to the rules of the Gospel, and the godly discipline of this Church, which we pray God to preserve in its purity to all succeeding generations. Dated Oct. 3, 1718.

"SAM. WATTLEWORTH.
JOHN CURGHY, WM. WALKER, } Vicars-General."

And the Bishop annexes what follows:—

"As for the proceedings of the Ecclesiastical Courts of the Isle of Man in punishing crimes spiritually, viz. by penance, &c., sufficient care is taken that the Bishop of Man shall not act arbitrarily and independently, by his being obliged, before his consecration, to take an oath of obedience to the Archbishop of York, and to his

[k] See note (A) at the end of the chapter. [l] See before, p. 139, and Mills, p. 90.

successors, (which oath is reserved in the said Bishop's oath of fidelity to the Lord of this Isle); and the Act of Parliament of James the First, assuring and establishing the said isle to the honourable house of Derby, has this express clause,—'Saving to the Archbishop of York and his successors all metropolitical jurisdiction, in all points and to all purposes and effects, of the bishopric and diocese of Man, in the said Isle of Man as it is given, united, limited, and appointed to the province and archbishopric of York, according to an Act of Parliament made and provided in the thirty-third year of the reign of King Henry VIIIth, King of England, &c.' By which Act the Bishop of Man is made accountable to the Archbishop of York for all his actions purely spiritual, and to which Act he refers himself with all submission."

The only notice taken by the officers, at the time, of this frank and elaborate reply to their demand, was a very brief entry in the Exchequer-book:—

"The Bishop's answer was, that there lay no appeal in that case, and that he always thought so."

The Bishop fined by the Earl's command.

A pause ensues for upwards of four months, during which the Council of course took the opinion of the Lord of the Isle, which he gave with more of temper than of judgment: if at least they spoke the truth in affirming that they were but obeying him in the next step they took, which was neither more nor less than fining the Bishop in the sum of ten pounds:—

"At Castle Rushen, the 19th of February, 1718. Before the Governor, Officers, and two Deemsters.

"Whereas the Right Honourable the Lord of this Isle, upon the appeal of Mary Hendricks, having, by his order dated the 30th of July, 1717, appointed the 23rd of December following for a hearing of the said appeal before his Lordship, and the Lord Bishop of this isle having had due notice to appear, yet notwithstanding the said Lord Bishop nor any person in his behalf did not appear, therefore for the disobedience and contempt of the said order, and of his Lordship's prerogative, he is fined in ten pounds.

"Dan. McYlrea. Alex^r Horne.
Cha. Moore. J. Rowe.
Wm. Seddon."

The Bishop's remonstrance

It became necessary now, on political as well as ecclesiastical grounds, for the Bishop to adopt some line of active

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against the fine.

defence, and he saw that he would have to take another voyage to England. But first he thought it right to seek an interview with the Governor, and give him every chance of retracting a measure, on the face of it so arbitrary and irrational. He waited on him at Castletown, March 3rd; and the following are "certain memorandums of what passed," from the Episcopal Registry:—

"*Certain memorandums of what passed at the Governor's house, March* 3, 1718:—

"1. The Lord Bishop telling the Governor that he intended for England shortly, and because he understood by the Moar[m] that there was a fine come forth against him, he therefore came to his Honour to see whether that must be any stop to his intended voyage; to which the Governor answered, that the matter of the fine (or words to that effect) should be no stop to his Lordship's going off the island.

"2. His Lordship further asked whether there was any law for laying on such a fine. The Governor said he had my Lord Derby's order for it, which being desired to shew, the Governor said my Lord gave it him by word of mouth.

"3. The Lord Bishop declared that he had before, at Peele, desired that the Governor might call together the 24 Keys to give their opinion in this high point, and he now repeated his demand, and one of the Vicars-General read to the Governor the law to that purpose; yet this request was not granted, only he said in general, that what he had done he would justify.

"4. Upon the Governor's saying that he had my Lord Derby's order for what he had done, as before, the Lord Bishop said, 'Are you sworn to act by my Lord's order, or by the laws of the island?' To which the Governor answered, 'Is not my Lord's order law?' 'Yes,' replied the Lord Bishop, 'when it is received into the body of the Statute-book, which this has not been.'

"5. The Lord Bishop urging that the Deemsters had formerly given a wrong judgment, as acknowledged under their own hands, desired that the present Deemsters might give their opinions in open court in his Lordship's presence, and he made no doubt but he could convince them that they had erred in this case: to which the Governor gave no direct answer.

"The Lord Bishop asked also, why the spiritual judges were not

[m] "A ministerial officer of the manorial or sheading court." Train, ii. 212.

consulted in this case, as formerly by other Governors? To which the Governor said that this case was plain.

"Jon. Stevenson. John Curghy.
John Murray. Wm. Walker.
J. Woods. Will. Ross.
Anth. Halsall."

The next step was to put on record his demand, now twice submitted in conversation, to have the law in this case "deemed" by authority: to which end he wrote the following day, March 4:—

"*To Alexander Horne, Esq., Governor of this Isle.*

"Sir,—Forasmuch as I, who am a Baron of this Isle, Bishop of this Diocese, and one of the Lord's Council, have without a legal hearing been fined ten pounds by the Temporal Court on the 19th of February last, for contempt in not appearing at London to defend a sentence passed here in a case purely spiritual; for which, after all the enquiries I can make, there appears to me to be neither law, reason, nor precedent, and for which procedure you were pleased to tell me, upon application to you yesterday, you had only the Lord of the Isle's verbal order: and whereas the Ecclesiastical and Temporal Judges have given different opinions in the case of Mary Henrick's appeal, on which my present complaint and grievance is grounded; I do therefore again request it as my undoubted right, being one of the Council as aforesaid, to have the Deemsters and twenty-four Keys called (the Vicars-General being present) to deem the law truly in this great and high point, in which not only the Episcopal authority is so nearly concerned, but also, as you assert, the liberty of the subject. This being the legal method, and a course usually taken in cases of much less importance, I have desired two of my clergy to wait on your Honour to receive the answer which you may be pleased to return to,

"Sir, your affectionate friend and humble Servant,

"*March* 4, 1718. Tho. Sodor and Man."

This official paper (which appears by an indorsement to have been delivered to the Governor, March 5, in the Chancery Court, by the Rev. Anthony Halsall) was followed on the 6th by a private letter from the Bishop, conceived surely in no unfriendly spirit:—

"*Bishop's Court, March* 6, 1718.

"Sir,—I have the favour of yours by Mr. Norris. My sole design in waiting upon you on Tuesday last was to obtain, if possible,

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a legal hearing before I am deprived of my liberty and property, and such redress as I by the laws might reasonably expect within this land, without being forced to seek for it in England. And that if this were denied me, after all the steps I have taken to obtain it, I might justify myself to all the world, that as I was obliged to defend a righteous cause, so I have done it by all ways becoming a lover of peace and of civil government. It is for this reason that I do again entreat your Honour that the Deemsters and 24 Keys may be called together, I and the Vicars-General, *who are the Lord's sworn judges for ecclesiastical affairs,* being present, that you may see whether the Deemsters have given you the law right. And I do undertake at my peril to make it appear that they have not well considered this matter, and that it is probable they have led you into a mistake for want of hearing what we have to say for ourselves. Or if you think it more advisable that the Lord's four sworn judges[n] may meet together and be left to themselves, without anybody on either side to influence them, and review what has been done, and if they can agree upon the law and practice, well and good; if not, that then the 24 Keys may be called, according to the statute and constant practice, to deem the law truly.

"I am very sorry to find, by some harsh expressions in your letter, that Mr. Walker's honest intentions to set things upon a right foot have been misinterpreted. [To my] certain knowledge, there is no man in this island has done, or is disposed to do, more to support your authority than he, as long as he can be satisfied he can do it with a good conscience; of which I can give your Honour some undeniable instances.

"Both he and I have been, and will always be, as tender of the Lord's prerogative and the people's liberties as any of his council and officers. And we can give sufficient proof of this; but then we are sure his Lordship is too great a lover of justice and liberty to desire to have it in his power to ruin the meanest of his subjects, much less a Baron and Bishop of his land. I pray God direct you for the best, and I hope you will be so charitable as to believe that all that I have done tends to this, for I am, Honoured Sir,

"Your affectionate friend and servant in the Lord,

"Tho. Sodor and Man."

The reply of the Governor has been given by Mr. Stowell[o], *verbatim et literatim,* as it stands in the Register:—

"*March* 10, 1718.

"To the R^tt^ Reverend the Lord Bishop of this Isle.

"My Lord,—I verey well know that your Lordship is a Baron of

[n] The two Deemsters and the two Vicars-General.

[o] p. 151.

this Isle, and Bishop of this Diocess, and one of my Lord's Councel, and I do not doubt but your Lordship knowes as well, that I am Governr, my Lord's representative, and Commandr in Cheif within this island, and in answer to your Lordship's paper of the 4th instant, wherein you say that without a legal hearing you are fined in ten pound by the Temporal Court, for contempt in not appearing att London, to defend a sentence passed here, in a case purely Spiritual, for which by all the enquiry you can make, that it appears to you, to be nether law reason or precedent, and for which procedur you say that I was pleased to tell your Lordship yesterday, that I had only the Lord of the Isles verbal order, and that the Ecclesiastical and Temporal Judges have given diferent opinions in the case of Mary Hendricks appeal, on which your present grevance is grounded.—Your Lordship knowes verey well that a complaint of this nature is not cognizable before the 24 Keys, but properly before the Rtt Honble the Lord of this Isle, who is also Metropolitan and Cheif of the Holy Church of this island, who may take a hearing of it himself, or may appoint others to do it, if he thinks fitt, and without question, when he is applied to, justice will be don, and then I do not doubt, but it will appear that our proceedings has nether been contrarr to law, reason, or precedent. I am,

"My Lord, your Lordships most humble Servant,

"Alexr Horne."

The Bishop after this (especially after the extraordinary claim on the Lord of the Isle's part to be "Metropolitan and Chief of the Holy Church") had no choice but to seek redress in England. But he naturally would stay over Easter, which fell that year on March 29; and even for that little space he could not be free from the peculiar sort of molestation to which he had been for some time exposed. Rowe the Comptroller sent in on the 19th of March a copy of an appeal from himself to Lord Derby, in which he states that he had seized in the island in the late Earl's time (therefore above seventeen years before) a ship from St. Sebastian's, "loaden with wine and brandy," worth £900, the moiety of which was due to him as the captor, but that the Bishop and Mr. Ewan Christian of Lewaigue, administering to the Earl's property in the island, had been guilty of "a maladministration and wrongful withholding and detaining from the appellant his moiety of the said seizure, contrary to law and

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equity ... whereby he is greatly aggrieved, and hath just cause to complain against you the said Bishop and John Christian of Lewaigue, executor of Ewan Christian."

On this the Bishop and his officers note :—

"The appellant cannot be so ignorant as not to know that the Lord Bishop was not the late Earl William's administrator; but the General Sumner, who discharged his trust according to law, disposed of all the effects, paid all just debts, and received his *quietus est* above ten years ago. And among the claimers, the pretended appellant had £188 6s. 8d. adjudged him. And he receiving the same without any appeal at that time was demonstration that he acquiesced, and was satisfied with it. So that an appeal now, after so many years, when the administrator and two of the principal magistrates of the Court are dead, and all the effects disposed of, as before, is plainly vexatious, and not warranted by any known law or precedent in this isle; not to mention, at this time, the injurious and defamatory terms in which the said appeal is expressed."

This is signed by the Bishop, Vicars-General, and Archdeacon. And we hear no more of the cause: it was evidently too bad to be carried on.

Besides the old and the public grounds of dislike, Mr. Rowe was likely at this time to feel a special grudge towards the Bishop, who had had occasion within the past twelvemonth to notice anew the scandal in his ill-regulated family. His daughter Anne, who in 1714 had been admonished by the Spiritual Court to prove her marriage by certificate or oath, but had gone off the island without doing so, had returned, bringing with her an affidavit of her marriage in Dublin to one Thomas Prizent, but with no specification of time or place. Mr. Woods of Malew, the Registrar, reports this to the Bishop, who replies, (Aug. 2, 1718) :—

"You are hereby required to charge the within named Anne Rowe to appear before us the next Consistory at Kirk Michael, either to prove her marriage, or, in default thereof, to undergo such censure and to receive such admonition as her sin and contumacy shall merit[p]."

The issue of the cause does not appear, but whatever it may have been, the mere interference would be exasperating

[p] From the Archdeacon's Presentments in the Bishop's Registry.

enough to such as Mr. Rowe and his daughter: although, as we shall see by and by, it did not in the end prove altogether fruitless.

Voyage to England on account of an appeal cause.

However, by the 19th of April the Bishop was ready for his voyage, and passed from Douglas to Liverpool in twelve hours, where he spent the next day, being Sunday, and preached his sermon called the "Christian's Armour," (the 25th in the printed collection). This appears by a memorandum on the MS., and by the help of similar memoranda we are enabled to trace his movements through almost every week of this visit to England. No doubt (besides other inducements) it was a comfort in the anxieties of the time to preach as often as he had a fair opportunity, and so do something for the Church in his absence from his own flock. In like manner I find him a fortnight afterwards at Warrington, which he seems always to have regarded as his English home rather than any other place, and on this occasion especially he kept within reach of it, not being called in any way to London. His whole business for the time lay in the north, first with Lord Derby and afterwards with the Metropolitan. No memorandum remains however of his being in communication with the Earl until late in July: his Lordship probably being well pleased when anything occurred which might delay their meeting. In the meantime the Bishop had preached at Prestwich, May 10; at Wallasea, May 17, (Whitsunday); at Bury, May 24; at Manchester and Winwick, June 7 and 21; at Leigh, at Newton, and at Winwick again, July 5, 12, and 19.

But on the last-mentioned day, Sunday though it were, he seems to have waited on the Earl, then at Cross Hall,—a family seat of his near Ormskirk,—or at least to have prepared himself for such an interview by drawing up heads for a remonstrance containing the sum of his case: which paper stands thus in the Episcopal Register:—

"*July* 19, 1718. *At Cross-hall.*

"The injuries the Bishop of Man complains of are, that his liberty and property have been invaded:—

"1. By imposing upon him an *arbitrary fine*, and subjecting him to imprisonment after an ignominious manner for not appearing

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at London to defend a *cause purely spiritual*, and this in a flat defiance of the Archbishop's jurisdiction established by Acts of Parliament.

"No law for the Bishop's appearing either at London or elsewhere, by himself or agent.

"No law for fining a Bishop but for breach of a temporal statute. What statute has he broke? The Governor, when asked this question, answered that my Lord's order was a law, and that he had fined me by his Lordship's order.

"Causes purely spiritual belong to the Archbishop; *vid.* Acts of Parliament.

"The Bishop of Man has sworn canonical obedience to the Archbishop, and his oath reserved in the Isle of Man.

"Vicar-General Norris his opinion no law.

"The present Vicars-General opinion as valid as his, who declare the direct contrary.

"The Lord of the Isle never determined causes purely spiritual, neither before nor since that opinion was given.

"2. By doing all this without a *legal hearing*, *without legal proofs*, and in a case *which the officers themselves declare does not lie before them.*

"3. By denying him the common benefit of the law, and the right of the meanest subject, the statute providing that in all high points the Governor or any of the Council are to call the two Deemsters and 24 Keys to deem the law truly, which justice the Bishop has been positively refused.

"4. By publishing and recording general orders not supported by law, which do effectually set aside his and the Archbishop's authority, and ruin the discipline of the Church; and this *without consulting the Bishop* himself, or the rest of the legislature. See the orders of August 16, 1718, of February 19, 1718, and declaring the Lord of the Isle Metropolitan. And that he may oblige the Bishop to take off an excommunication even before he hears the cause.

"The Vicars-General (who are the Lord's sworn officers for ecclesiastical affairs) have ever been consulted on such occasions, —Fletcher's letter, Ireland, Order about the boats.

"Lastly, By laying him under a necessity of leaving his charge, and going for England to seek redress at a very great expense and loss of time, rather than subject himself and successors to be ruined at the mere will and pleasure of the present or any succeeding Governor."

It will be understood that "subjecting him to imprison-

ment" does not mean any actual arrest at the time, but that he was declared liable to it, and threatened with it.

Lord Derby and the Bishop, it seems, had an interview two days after at Knowsley, when the former, doubting or affecting to doubt the correctness of an extract which the latter produced, requested to see the Act of Parliament itself, by which Man was made part of the province of York; which extract the Bishop was not able to send him until Friday in the following week. On the intervening Sunday, July 26, he had preached again at Winwick. He sent his letter by his faithful friend and Vicar-General, who had accompanied him this time to England. His permitting him to do so, by the way, was a striking indication not only of his great confidence in him, but of his deep sense of the evil that was impending. For it was depriving the body for a time of the head and the right hand at once; the other Vicar-General, Curghy, being from old age and other circumstances not able to do much.

Here is the letter referred to, with Mr. Walker's own memoranda of the way in which it was delivered and received:—

"*Warrington, July* 31, 1719.

"To the Right Honourable James Earl of Derby, Lord of Man and the Isles, at Knowsley.

"My Lord,—I have with much difficulty procured the printed Statute of the 33rd of Hen. VIII., by which I hope your Lordship will be convinced that an appeal from a sentence purely spiritual does, as I have often before assured your Lordship, lie to the Archbishop of York, as it is constantly practised in the diocese of Chester, and consequently that I have been most wrongfully fined by your officers, and made liable to imprisonment for not appearing before your Lordship at London.

"I hope your Lordship will be pleased to declare this, and give express directions that the fine be taken off, and such orders and resolutions as set aside the Archbishop of York's metropolitical jurisdiction be declared void, and that we may have such countenance and assistance from the civil powers, as shall be necessary to enable us to discharge our duty.

"Your Lordship knows the value of liberty and property too well to think that I ought to return to the island without some good assurance that I shall not be imprisoned, my goods seized, or my

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authority trampled upon. This justice I expect and beg of your Honour, that I may not be compelled so much against my interest and inclination to seek elsewhere for redress against your officers.

"I had several other matters of importance to have laid before your Lordship, which will well deserve your Lordship's consideration and redress, of which the Vicar-General can give your Lordship an account, particularly that the course of justice is of late stopped, and creditors are kept out of their just debts, after judgment given by the Vicars-General; the Constables of the Garrisons denying assistance to the Sumners, though obliged by the firmest laws we have;—a matter which, if not remedied, will soon be the occasion of an universal complaint, and which I think it my duty to acquaint your Lordship with.

"I pray your Lordship will favour me with an answer to this, that I may forthwith return to my diocese with security to my person and estate, for I long to return to take care of my flock in person, as I have done for above twenty years past.

"I pray your Lordship will believe, whatever shall be suggested to the contrary, that I have in this whole affair acted with great deference to your Lordship's authority, being

"My Lord,

"Your Lordship's most faithful humble Servant,

"Tho. Sodor and Man."

"This is a true copy compared with the original, this 31st of July, 1719, by J. Stevenson, Wm. Walker."

It appears that the Bishop had the additional comfort of Mr. Stevenson's presence.

"*Aug.* 1, 1719.

"The within letter was delivered to the Earl of Derby this day by me W. W., and his Lordship having retired for half an hour to his closet, at length sent for me, and asking for the Statute of the 33rd of Hen. VIII., I delivered the book to him, and when I was about to speak of the matters referred to in the Lord Bishop's letter, he opened the door for me to go forth, and said he was going to write to the Bishop, and would let me know when he had done. About an hour after I was sent for again, but was not permitted to see his Lordship, only had a letter for the Bishop delivered me by the butler, whom I sent to his Lordship to know whether he had anything more to say to me, or whether he would allow me to speak to him touching the matters of which the Lord Bishop had written to him; to which the butler brought answer from his Lordship that he would not see me, or had nothing more to say to me

that day, or to that purpose. This is set down for better remembrance of what passed on this occasion. "W. W."

It may be worth while to insert here the clauses in the Act on which the Bishop's argument rested :—

1. "Be it .. enacted ... that the Diocese and Bishopric of Chester .... be from henceforth annexed to the Province and Archbishopric of York ... and be .. of the Metropolitical jurisdiction of the same, to every effect and purpose, according to the ecclesiastical laws in this realm." And 2. "Be it also further enacted, ... that the Bishopric and Diocese of Man in the Isle of Man be also annexed, adjoined, and united to the said Province and Metropolitical jurisdiction of York, in all points, and to all purposes and effects, as the said Bishopric of Chester is annexed, adjoined, and united to the same."

The Earl's reply, through a cloud of false spelling and half-Dutch English, betrays some misgiving as to the course which he and his officers had entered upon :—

"*Knowsley, Aug.* 1, 1719.

"My Lord,—I have received yours of July the thurty-first this day. When I have considered the printed Act you send me I shall give orders accordingly. It will not be strange if my officers should be mistaken, sinse appeles of the nature you mention has never bin thought to lie before the Archbishop of York, and the constant practice in the isleand has always bin otherwise for above these hunderd years, and not one president to the contrary, which you know very well to be treue. Your Lordship shall hear further from me when I have thoroughly perused the Act of Parliament.

"Your Lordship's humble Servant,

"DERBY."

This prepares one for the partial concession, made with no very good grace, a few days after :—

"Whereas the Bishop of my Isle of Mann having made a complaint to me of being fined by my officers there for contempt, for not complying with my summons relating to an appeal of Mary Hendricks, and having taken a hearing of [the cause on] Tuesday the 28th of July last at Knowsley: it appeared to me by copies of record and precedents produced that they have acted with a great deal of caution, and according to the ancient laws and practice of the island: And the Bishop having that day produced a copy of an Act of Parliament of the 33rd year of King Henry the Eighth, investing a jurisdiction in the Archbishop of York, which copy

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being looked upon not to be authentic, he sent me a printed book wherein there is the said Act of King Henry the Eighth, that annexes the Bishopric of Chester to that of York, and the Bishopric and diocese of the Isle of Mann in the Isle of Mann to the Bishopric of York after the same manner as Chester is. Therefore until such time as I have duly considered the said Act, and how you shall govern yourselves in that matter hereafter, I do order that the fine imposed on the Bishop be respited.—Given at Knowsley, Aug. the 7th, 1719. "DERBY."

No doubt he took advice immediately, and the case must have appeared a clear one to those whom he consulted, for on the 20th of the same month the matter was brought to a conclusion so far as the fine was concerned. The Exchequer-book at Castletown has the following entry:—

"*Knowsley, Aug.* 20, 1719.

"Having now further considered of the fine set on the Bishop for not appearing before me at London upon the appeal of Mary Hendricks, I remit the same. "DERBY."

The Earl remits the fine.

So far the Bishop's voyage had answered better even than he might have expected. He had attained his immediate object, and we hear no more of Mary Hendricks' appeal. But the Earl studiously avoided everything that might encourage the smallest hope of real reconciliation. Contrariwise, on the very day of his remitting the fine he drew up certain queries, and forwarded them to the island with the sentence of remission, they being so conceived and so worded, that any common reader could only understand them as intended to raise controversies and create mischief.

It is true the officers kept back these queries for the present; it was nearly two years before they forwarded them to the Bishop. Nevertheless he was but too well aware that further trouble was in store for him; and whatever other object he might have in remaining in England so long as he did in that year, one of his purposes undoubtedly was to communicate personally with his Metropolitan, and obtain favour and counsel from him in so trying a case. It appears from the indorsements on his sermons that presently after his discussion with the Earl he turned his face towards York; for on Sunday, August 16, he preached at Ledsham, near Leeds, a place entitled almost to be called holy ground,

being the home of the Lady Elizabeth Hastings, so revered then and in after times for deep saintliness and heavenly charity. CHAP. XII.

Lady E. Hastings.

She was the second daughter of Theophilus, seventh Earl of Huntingdon, by his first wife Elizabeth, eldest daughter and co-heir of Sir John Lewis, Bart., of Ledstone. Her father appears to have been a man of considerable energy, and one of the most unflinching advocates for keeping the succession in the House of Stuart. His zeal caused him to be excepted in the Indemnity Act of 1696, to be imprisoned in the Tower in 1698, and in 1701 to be one of the only four peers who thought it worth while to enter their protest on the journals of their house against the Act of Settlement. His daughter, of whom it may be truly said that she shewed equal force of character in a still higher cause, was born April 19, 1682; and surviving her elder sister Lucy, and her only brother George, succeeded on the death of the latter, Feb. 22, 170⅝, (her father having died a few years before,) to her mother's property, containing Ledstone Hall, and several estates in that neighbourhood, being then but in the twenty-fourth year of her age. She is said to have been very beautiful, and so accomplished in many ways, that Robert Nelson, of whom she was a correspondent, applied to her the text, Proverbs xxxi. 29, "Many daughters have done virtuously, but thou excellest them all." Of her earnest desire to be pure in heart, and to devote herself unreservedly to God's service, she gave this evidence, which the tenor of her life may justify us in calling no extravagance of pietism, but a real counsel of perfection—that she never but once read "a romance;" that was, her memorialist tells us, with a friend in her young days; and "she repented it ever after."

This noble lady and the Bishop of Man must have been more or less acquainted with each other, by name at least and character, long before; since besides Nelson, (who died in 1715,) she had been, we are told, in correspondence and conference with Archbishop Sharp and Mr. Lucas, of whom the one died Feb. 2, 1713, the other in the same year as Nelson. The recent loss of so many trustworthy advisers, each one of whom might well be to her "as an angel of

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God," might make a visit from such a person as Bishop Wilson just then especially acceptable. At any rate he did then visit her, and for the first time as far as we know, though he had been at York with his friend Dean Finch, and had preached in the Cathedral, as far back as April 29, 1707. He would thus have an opportunity of witnessing the grave and charitable order of the household at Ledstone, —the family prayers four times a-day, "mostly the holy Service of the Church[q]," —and the exact conscientiousness with which all duties, earthly and spiritual, were attended to in their season; and among them one which might particularly strike the good Bishop was her voluntarily paying £100 to the King's treasury, for casual inadvertencies which she thought might have taken place. It was the beginning of a friendship most affectionate, most reverential, which continued and grew during their joint lives, to the great comfort of them both, and benefit of the Church: she assisting the Bishop by her alms to his diocese and her sympathy in his troubles, he as a faithful almoner counselling her in her munificent charities; besides the help which they doubtless gave each other, consciously or unconsciously, in the True and Inward Life.

Thoresby and the Leeds Wilsons.

The neighbourhood of Leeds was another circumstance which would make Ledstone interesting to the Bishop. For he had kinsmen of his own name in that town, whom he willingly recognised, as he well might, for there are things remembered of them which shew that in that manufacturing and commercial air the loyal blood of the old Cheshire yeomen had not ceased to beat in their veins. As to the fact that he did so recognise them, no question need be made of it. Besides a constant tradition to that effect in the Leeds family, their arms, with a tracing of which, from Thoresby's "History of Leeds," I have been favoured by a gentleman descended from them, are the same with those of the Bishop as given in Gregson's "Portfolio of Fragments on Lancashire;" i. e. *Sable, a wolf rampant* (or *"saliant"*) *or,*

[q] See "An Historical Character relating to ... Lady E. Hastings, &c. By Thomas Barnard, M.A., Master of the Free School in Leeds. Leeds, 1742:" from which and from Jacobs' Peerage and Thoresby's Diary these particulars are taken.

three etoiles (or "*mullets of six points*") *of the 2nd* (or "*in chief, argent*"). The head of the Leeds branch in the generation next before the Bishop, as I gather from a portion of their pedigree in Thoresby, was John Wilson of Leeds, cloth-merchant, about coeval with Nathanael the Bishop's father, for he was born in 1631. Of him it is related, that some time probably in August, 1658,—

"as he was passing through the streets of Leeds, he met the Vicar, and said to him, 'When shall we have Divine Service again in Leeds Old Church?' The Vicar replied, 'Whenever Mr. Wilson will protect me in the discharge of my duty.' 'Then,' he rejoined, 'by the grace of God, it shall be next Sunday.' Accordingly on that day the bells rang as formerly for morning prayers, and a large congregation was drawn together. In the centre aisle was Mr. Wilson with a great number of his men drawn up, as if to protect the Vicar. News of the occurrence soon reached London, and an order came down for the imprisonment of Mr. Wilson, but before his trial came on Oliver Cromwell died.

"About fourteen years after this occurrence John Wilson's youngest son was christened, and the name given him was *Major*, in memory of this affair, because ever since it took place Mr. Wilson had been commonly called *Colonel*."

The name has been continued in his progeny for at least two generations, and something too of the spirit by which it was won, if, as I have been informed, one of the most distinguished warriors of our time, the late Sir Robert T. Wilson, was a descendant of this Mr. Major Wilson of Leeds.

By this relationship the Bishop's family were brought into connection and acquaintance with Ralph Thoresby, the historian of Leeds, well-known as an antiquary and *virtuoso:* Thoresby and Thomas Wilson, a first cousin of the aforesaid Major, having married two sisters, so that a cousin of the one would be cousin by marriage of the other. And Thoresby in his Diary speaks perpetually of "Cousin Wilson," at whose house he met the Bishop of Man's son; which cousin could be no other than the kinsman of Major Wilson above-mentioned[r]. Thoresby's first mention of our Bishop occurs April 25, 1710:—

[r] For this information touching the Leeds Wilsons the writer is indebted to John Taylor, Esq., author of an ingenious work on "The Great Pyramid;" whose father's mother, according to the family tradition, was related to the Mr. Major Wilson named in the text.

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"Began to read the Bishop of Man's excellent treatise of the 'Principles and Duties of the Christian Religion,' received yesterday as a curiosity (being the first book that was ever printed in the Manx language) from the pious Author, but find it also an excellent practical treatise in the English part of it[s]."

It would appear that at this juncture the Bishop's stay in Yorkshire was interrupted, and his visit to his metropolitan postponed, by family affliction. The next memorandum of his preaching bears date York, Sept. 20, and by the obituary which he kept in *Sacra Privata* we learn that in the meantime two deaths had occurred among his near kinsmen. "My eldest brother Samuel died," he writes, "Sept. 6, 1719, aged 70." Again, "My uncle John Leigh died, Sept. 10, 1719:" that is, his wife's uncle, Vicar of Edenhall in Cumberland; the person from whom, twelve years before, the Bishop had heard the ghost story thus detailed in the Supplement to his Maxims:—

"August 22, 1707. My Uncle Legh (*sic*), a person of great learning and veracity, assured me, that about three years after Mr. Bridges' death, (Rector of Malpas,) the same Mr. Bridges passed by him as he was walking in daylight; that the spectre turned, and looked him full in the face, and he being nothing afraid had time to consider the very garments he wore; that before he saw him he heard his gown rustle as he passed through some burrs. Now" (the Bishop adds) "this coming from a person of his integrity, a man not easily imposed on"—

and so he breaks off. Mr. Leigh was born, according to Ormerod, in 164⅝, so that he was nearly sixty-two years old when this vision or dream occurred, and seventy-four at the time of his death.

Bishop Wilson's heart and principles taught him always to make no distinction between his wife's relations and his own, and this would be felt literally as a double bereavement. His brother we know was buried at Burton, and if Mr. Leigh's remains were brought to the family burying-place at Oughtrington, the two funerals (the Bishop being supposed present at them) would just about explain his delay in proceeding to York.

[s] Diary, ii. 59.

It was his second visit to his friend the Dean, and his first to Sir William Dawes, now for about six years and a half Sharp's successor in the archbishopric. Of him Archdeacon Thomas Sharp, nephew and biographer of the Archbishop, writes [t],—

"Perhaps the greatest mark of her (the Queen's) esteem and affection for him was given by her after his death, in the immediate appointment of the man whom he desired to be his successor. There was no favour she could have obliged him in equal to this. Sir William Dawes was a person whom, for his very great worth and abilities, and inviolable attachment to the interests of the Church of England, his Grace had adopted in his wishes to succeed him in his pastoral charge. For he was a man of gravity and prudence, of decency and courtesy, of singular presence of mind, of extraordinary resolution and constancy, and yet of a moderate and cool spirit, and of exemplary regularity and exactness in all parts of life. And he had moreover a very strong and vigorous constitution, which fitted him to execute with ease the most laborious parts of the episcopal function, which in Archbishop Sharp's judgment was of no small moment in the choice of a bishop. Upon these considerations (not to mention Sir William's other natural and personal advantages, viz. a tenacious memory, a graceful mien, a fine address, and a sweet elocution) he drew the Queen's affections upon that baronet. And having first procured him the bishopric of Chester, and made experiment of his prudence and assiduity in the management of that large diocese, he made the way more easy for his removal from thence to the metropolis of the province."

Contrast with this Bishop Burnet's brief criticism on the previous nomination of Dawes to the see of Chester [u]:—

"The Lord Treasurer had promised that for the future preferments should be bestowed on men well-principled with regard to the present constitution, and on men of merit. The Queen without regarding this did secretly engage herself to Dr. Blackhall for Exeter, and Chester being at the same time void by the death of Dr. Stratford, to Sir William Dawes for that see. These divines were in themselves men of value and worth, but their notions were all on the other side. . . . Dawes was looked on as an aspiring man who would set himself at the head of the Tory party: so this nomination gave a great disgust."

A prelate thus looked upon by Sharp and by Burnet re-

[t] Life of Sharp, i. 332.

[u] Own Times, ii. 487.

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spectively would be sure to sympathize with Bishop Wilson in his present trouble, and to do all he could to support him: the rather as, besides the duty of upholding his own archiepiscopal prerogative, so rudely challenged by Lord Derby, he must be supposed to have inherited his predecessor Sharp's view on Church discipline; of whom it stands recorded, not only in general but in specimens from his own correspondence, that

"he endeavoured, as often as occasion was given, to prevent or remove the restraints that were put upon Church discipline by the Temporal Courts, and to clear up those difficulties in the exercise of it which were occasioned by the Statute laws, especially the Act of Toleration;" although he always shewed "great tenderness to particular persons under the sentence of excommunication or liable to incur it[x]."

Certain it is that Archbishop Dawes entered thoroughly into the position and views of his suffragan in this serious affair, and afforded him exactly the countenance and support which he needed: although unfortunately no details (that I know of) are forthcoming, either of the mode of his interference on Bishop Wilson's behalf, or (what would probably be still more interesting) of the correspondence and conferences which must have passed between the two Bishops on the subject; in which the Dean, Wilson's tried and old friend, would be sure to have his part, and possibly his brother Edward also. Perhaps the remission of the fine by Lord Derby, which took place after Bishop Wilson had reached Ledstone on his way to York, might be partly due to some communication from the Archbishop.

Education of the Bishop's son.

During this visit to York, Bishop Wilson seems to have made an arrangement for completing his son's school education. The lad was now in his seventeenth year, having been born Aug. 24, 1703; and had been hitherto, as it should seem, brought up entirely under his father's roof. But that he was left in England on his father's return that winter, appears by two entries in Mr. Thoresby's Diary:—"1720, April 17, Easter Tuesday. After evening prayers supped at Cousin Wilson's, with the Bishop of Man's son." And again,

[x] Life of Abp. Sharp, i. 215, 217.

—"April 23. Had the company of two pious and ingenious young gentlemen, Mr. Wilson, the Bishop's son, and Mr. Boulter Tomlinson." It appears also by a casual entry in the son's journal, made many years after, when he was in a way to become a dignified clergyman, that he had at some time in his life been pupil to a Mr. Clerk of Kirk Leatham. Kirk Leatham is in Cleveland, near to Redcar, and

"has a handsome school and hospital, founded by a worthy old citizen and Alderman of London, Sir William Turner, in the 2nd of Charles II. The school, however," adds Archdeacon Churton, to whom I am indebted for this information, "did not flourish, and I think it has been for some time in abeyance. It may have been otherwise in Bishop Wilson's time."

Dr. Wilson's mention of it in his journal tends to confirm this idea:—

"Nov. 5, 1736. Came to the Rolls, sat half an hour with Mr. Terrick, preacher there, who is to be the Speaker's chaplain. . . He is a pretty ingenious young man, was scholar to my old master Mr. Clerk of Kirk Leatham[y]."

This was the Terrick who was afterwards Bishop of London. Elsewhere, in a thanksgiving for his birthday, the tone of which does great credit to his devotional and filial feelings, Dr. Wilson blesses God for his "education under the best of fathers and masters, every way qualified to instruct me in true principles of religious duty," and adds, "O Lord, pardon me my too often neglect of their just commands;" where the word "their" manifestly implies that he was not speaking of his father only, though undoubtedly he was kept longer at home than is usual; and one may venture to suspect that the foibles and littlenesses of his character might in some measure be owing to an education so very retired, he being an only child, his sole surviving parent with small leisure to look after him, and disposed, as his demeanour towards the Manxmen in the matter of the contraband trade indicates, to judge somewhat too gently of those towards whom he stood in any fatherly relation.

If the Bishop had by that time put his son to school at

[y] MS. in possession of the Rev. H. Cruttwell of Bath.

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Kirk Leatham, Leeds was a likely and convenient place for him to be found in, when he had a two or three days' vacation; and thus the scattered and independent memoranda throw undesigned light upon each other and upon the Bishop's proceedings.

His visit to York did not last long. On September 20 he preached there in St. Martin's Church; — St. Martin's in Coney-street, as I suppose, that being in the patronage of the Chapter;—and his sermon was that very weighty one, on "If any man love not the Lord Jesus Christ, let him be anathema." He had preached it first at Castletown, as a Christmas Sermon, in 1714. After this he turned southwards, for we find him preaching again at Warrington on the following Sunday, two sermons on the same day; and either there or in the neighbourhood (Neston, close to Burton, being the most distant place) he was similarly engaged on almost every Sunday during the next two months; once also in December, at Warrington, on his own birth-day, and twice in January.

On Friday, the 15th of that month, something occurred which caused him to enter in *Sacra Privata*[z] the following memorandum, inserted here as having been inadvertently omitted in the new edition:—

"To consider the guilt it would have been to have omitted the daily morning and evening sacrifice under the Law, and that 'tis as great a one under the Gospel;—*vid.* Rubric, &c.;—I thank God who by a way peculiar to His Spirit has put me in mind of this duty. . May His grace make His intimations effectual. Amen."

Considering what we have seen before of his friend Hewetson's advice, and of his own practice, it seems probable that this, which refers doubtless to the duty incumbent on all clerks of using the Church's morning and evening offices, was rather set down to ensure his warning the clergy under him, than for amendment of his own practice. Observe, that the day was the vigil of the twenty-second anniversary of his consecration.

There is no sign of his having visited London at this time, though he was in correspondence with Archbishop Wake also; nor are we told why he lingered so long in England.

[z] iii. 175.

Probably the explanation lies in the following sentence from a paper drawn up in 1724:—

"The Earl of Derby only remitting the fine, but not thinking fit to censure the arbitrary proceedings of his officers, or to reverse their orders, the Bishop was obliged to petition the Lords Justices of Great Britain for relief; upon which the Earl assured their Excellencies that he had given such order in the Bishop's case, as that he might return to his diocese without danger of being disturbed[a]."

This transaction does not appear in the Council Register, but there is no doubt of the fact, and we may well imagine how it may have taken up all those weeks, and more.

An additional cause of delay might be the declining health of his mother-in-law, to whom he had always shewn true filial affection. Besides her being fresh from the grief of her brother's death, she was now, as the event shewed, very near her own; and it was but in keeping with times past that she should long to have him near her while she might, and he make time to stay with her. On Easter Tuesday, April 19, died "my dear mother-in-law, aged 78," an event which must have added to the sense of solitude in which he had now to pass his time, his son having left him to complete his education, and, as it fell out, never to become a regular inmate of his house again.

The Bishop's return, and great peril.

The Bishop had left Mrs. Patten about three months before her death, sailing, probably from Liverpool, on Jan. 25, $17\frac{20}{21}$. He was forty-eight hours before landing at Douglas. It was a signal deliverance, thus acknowledged in *Sacra Privata*[b]:—

"From the great danger I escaped in returning to the island in a very leaky vessel, (of which I knew nothing till after I landed,) and from the violent storm which immediately followed my coming ashore, in which two vessels were lost at Hylake."

Here is another account of the escape, written a month afterwards by Thoresby to Dr. Charlett, Master of University College, Oxford:—

"Reverend Sir,—The want of anything worthy of your notice has occasioned a long silence, but I hope you will be pleased with what I heard this week, that the excellent Bishop of Man is safe arrived

[a] Case of the Bishop of Man, &c. Reg. Episc. [b] MS. iii. 61; i. 173.

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in that happy island, and that the instant he got out of the ship a storm arose, and beat the ship back again into England. He was met by a great number of the gentry, who dined with him[c]:"—

no doubt wishing to manifest their sympathy with him, and their sense that it was their cause which he was maintaining against the Governor. The worthy and Church-loving antiquary goes on to speak of other matters, which shew how many common subjects of interest he and the Bishop must have found when they met:—

"I have a cargo of Manx curiosities to receive thence. The New Testament is translating into that tongue by Mr. Walker, his Lordship's Chaplain and Vicar-General, a native of the isle. His [i. e. the Bishop's] receipt for cure of the hydrophobia came too late for a young man who was bit by a lap-dog at Martinmas, yet never found any [harm] till the other day, but died raging the third day after. This reminds me of a neighbouring clergyman who kept a tame serpent, which being by some accident provoked, stung him; which has a very odd effect, he having a periodical return of madness—after which he is perfectly well—at that time twelvemonth."

The rest of the letter—which bears date Feb. 27, $171\frac{9}{20}$—is curious, but quite unconnected with Bishop Wilson.

NOTE (A), p. 392.

"*Order of Lord Strange respecting Appeals from Ecclesiastical Courts.*

"Whereas by the ancient laws and customs of the island the Lord Bishop hath ever had power and authority to hear and determine all ecclesiastical causes, (so that the same depend not before him above one year and a day,) and to punish all such offenders whatsoever as shall commit any misdemeanours within or belonging to the jurisdiction of the Spiritual Court, yet nevertheless I am informed by the now Lord Bishop, that you my officers (in repugnancy of his authority and to the overthrow of the government incident and pertaining to his place and function) do frequently restore persons excommunicated by him, and do further take upon you the hearing and disposition of ecclesiastical causes at your pleasure, not belonging unto you, whereby you do not only derogate from the honour of his place in trenching so far upon Church government, but also prejudice me, and give encouragement to

[c] From MS. "Letters to Dr. Charlett," vol. xvii. Bodl.

offenders to neglect his authority; In consideration whereof, and to the end that offenders may be suppressed and duly punished, the ancient and usual government established, and religion the more advanced, it is my pleasure and express command, that you and every of you henceforth surcease to intermeddle with any matter or cause belonging to the spiritual government, other than with such only as by the laws and customs of the island may be lawful for you; and that you suffer him and his servants quietly to pass to and from the island as occasion shall require. And for the better encouragement of the said Lord Bishop in the full and free execution of his place, and that public scandal and dangerous example may be avoided, that good respect and due obedience may be given him by all as befits them to give to one of his calling, and that these my directions may be the better observed; let this my letter be kept upon record, for that I have seen several letters to this purpose formerly sent unto you which (it seems) are either slighted or forgotten. From my Manor House of Knowsley, the two and twentieth day of July, 1628.

"J. Strange."

CHAPTER XIII.

MARY HENDRICKS, CONTINUED: ARCHDEACON HORROBIN: BRIEFS. FEB. 1719 ... JULY 1721.

The Bishop, now brought back in safety to his diocese, and secure of the general sympathy of his flock, both clergy and laity, lost no time in promulgating the happy result of his voyage:—

"Thomas, by Divine permission, Bishop of Sodor and Man, to all Rectors, Vicars, Curates, and to all others within our diocese, Peace and benediction.

"Whereas Mary the wife of John Henricks, of Douglas, within our Diocese of Man, was presented for and convicted of adultery, and ordered to perform public penance, and refusing to give this testimony of her penitency, and contemptuously despising our authority, was by us, Oct. 22, 1716, with the advice of the Presbyters of our diocese, excommunicated: And forasmuch as the said Mary Hendricks, after having continued in contempt of that sentence for fifty days, did appeal unto the Right Honourable the Lord of this Isle, notwithstanding it is expressly provided by two

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several Acts of Parliament, the one in the thirty-third of King Henry the Eighth, and the other in the first of King James the First, that the Diocese of Man be annexed unto the province of York in all points as Chester is; and that all appeals from the Bishop of Man in matters spiritual must therefore be made unto the Metropolitan, the Archbishop of York: We do therefore with the advice of our Metropolitan aforesaid, (to whom we have, as in duty bound, communicated all proceedings in this affair,) declare that the said Mary Hendricks, notwithstanding her appeal aforesaid, doth still continue under the said sentence of excommunication, and unrelieved; and we do hereby order that (pursuant to the 65th Canon) she be denounced and declared excommunicate every six months until she shall reform herself, submit to the wholesome discipline of this Church, and obtain the benefit of absolution, and be received into the Church by a judge that has authority thereunto, to the end that others may hereby be admonished to refrain her company and society. And we also require our Register duly to certify his Grace the Archbishop of York, our Metropolitan, of all and singular the premises, as the said 65th Canon directs. Given under our hand and seal episcopal, this 23rd of February, A.D. 1719: and the 23rd year of our Consecration."

Certificates follow of publication in Braddan and Douglas.

Convocation, 1720.

When the annual Convocation came on at Kirk Michael, June 9, the clergy expressed their sense of what had passed by a solemn vote of thanks to the Archbishop of York, as the laity, we have seen, had done in the English way by inviting their diocesan to a congratulatory feast. The address, drawn up I suspect by Mr. Walker, was in the name of the Archdeacon and Vicars-General, with thirteen of the beneficed clergy, and five others:—

"We, the clergy of the diocese of Mann in Convocation assembled, do find ourselves in duty bound to render your Grace our most humble and unfeigned thanks, for your Grace's zealous concern in behalf of this Church and its discipline, and for countenancing and supporting our excellent Bishop in the regular government of the one, and due execution of the other. And as we have great reason to pray for your Grace's long continuing our pious and vigilant patron, so we do, with all submission, desire your Grace to accept this public testimony of our gratitude."

Here, for the first time in Bishop Wilson's history, occurs

the name of Mr. Robert Horrobin, heading the above address as Archdeacon. Mr. Wattleworth had died, aged 72, Dec. 20, 1718, and was buried in Peel Cathedral; but Lord Derby kept the place vacant for many months, Mr. Horrobin not being inducted until Oct. 18, 1719, while the Bishop was in England[d]. He was then Curate of Warrington, so near to Knowsley, that his cast of doctrine and character cannot be supposed unknown to Lord Derby. There is too much reason to fear that he was promoted and sent to the Island on purpose to be a thorn in the Bishop's side, as will very shortly appear. Yet he concurred in the address just given, implying, as it undoubtedly does, a very severe censure on his patron: and this is the more remarkable, as he had just before been listening to the Bishop's charge of that year,—a weighty document, which must now be given *in extenso*:—

Charge on Mary Hendricks' Cause.

"My Reverend Brethren, It is now two years since I had the happiness to meet you in Convocation. You all know what hindered us the last year; and I am persuaded you are all satisfied, as many as were witnesses of our proceedings in that affair, which has been made an occasion of so much trouble to us, that we acted as in the sight of God;—for having called the presbyters of my diocese together, according to primitive usage, we considered our consecration vows: we knew very well the sin and danger of a rash excommunication; we heard with patience all that was offered in favour of the person accused; and we were not ignorant of the character of her accuser. And yet we could not but see too much reason to believe her guilty, and too much scandal given to be passed over without a proper censure, especially when to her other crimes that unhappy woman added an utmost contempt of all Church authority over her.

"It was then, and not till then, you know, that we proceeded to the last sentence, after the most solemn appeal to God, and invocation of His Holy Name and aid. So that it must be very rash, and great uncharitableness in any body, to judge of our proceedings by hear-say; as if we had forgot the Apostle's rule, which yet at that very time we had before us, to do nothing by partiality.

"But let others judge, as they will answer it to our great Master. This I do assure you of, that we have the entire approbation of our worthy Metropolitan, who laid our cause very much to heart, and

[d] Feltham, 178, 9.

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would not be at ease until he saw that I had received at least some satisfaction for the injuries I had met with; being thoroughly convinced by the papers laid before him, that as on one hand we had been careful to put in execution the laws of Christ and of this Church, so, on the other, we had not been wanting in that respect, which by our holy religion is due to those whom God has set over us in the State.

"And I have his Grace's most express advice, as well as that of his Grace of Canterbury, (than whom no man is more concerned for Church discipline,) that we should not be discouraged by the troubles we have met with from going on in the way of our duty.

"And indeed, if ever Church discipline were necessary, it is certainly so now, when not only evil practices, (which have ever, God knows, been too rife,) but evil books and evil notions, (not heard of before in this place,) are become very common. And people, who yet call themselves Christians, are even pleased to see the Church of Christ, which is His body, in a fair way of being torn to pieces.

"As to the first of these, namely, evil practices, we have endeavoured, to the best of our power, to discourage them by all means becoming the spirit of the Gospel, and, by God's help, shall continue to do so. But one thing, my brethren, I beg you seriously to consider, That God rewards not those who forsake their sins for fear of punishment, but those who do so for His sake and out of choice.

"That therefore sinners are to be convinced of the evil state they are in; they are to be awakened into a sense of their danger by arguments drawn from another world—from the wrath of God, from the loss of heaven, and from the blessings of a sincere repentance. And certainly the methods the Church takes to set these arguments home upon their hearts are most proper, provided every pastor does his duty; offenders being obliged to give glory to God in a public confession of their crimes, and solemnly to promise a reformation; and they then have the prayers of the Church for their sincere conversion.

"The other evils which I observed were become too common amongst us, and which I beseech you to beware of, are books and notions of a very evil tendency. The very least mischief which can be supposed to follow from, if not intended by them, is, they give people very loose notions of religion in general; and in particular, some that I have seen, and others that I have heard of, seem to have no other true design than to abuse the Church of England and her clergy; to divide them in their affections and

principles; and to make those to be despised, whom St. Paul saith expressly the Spirit of God has ordained to be the ministers of reconciliation betwixt God and men. CHAP. XIII.

"But although these are very great evils, yet I cannot think that they ought to be made the subject of our public discourses. The pulpit was certainly designed for matters of another nature; and these are the proper subject of Church discipline, which, however it may be weakened and despised in England, by reason of the schisms and heresies which abound there, yet here—God be praised—it is not so; we have power and authority, both from God and the laws, to rebuke gainsayers; and while we are unanimous and faithful in the discharge of our duty, we may hope that our people will not be corrupted with novel opinions. Now the most effectual way to prevent this will be, for all of us that are appointed to watch over the flock of Christ to employ our thoughts, our zeal, and our time, in promoting of true piety; in labouring to make men good; and in converting sinners from the error of their ways, that we may preserve the power as well as the form of godliness.

"If people are faithfully and plainly instructed in what the Gospel requires to be believed and done in order to salvation, and if they are made sensible of the meaning and advantage of the Church's service and discipline,—that is, if they once know what is fit, right, and their duty,—they will easily see what is wrong, and not very easily be led into an error. Especially if we, who are their guides, take all imaginable care to be examples of all those graces and virtues which we recommend to others.

"I shall detain you no longer than while I put you in mind of some few things which ought now to be considered.

"In the first place, we owe a public acknowledgment to the Lord Bishop of Cloyne, and to Dr. Maxwell. To the first, for his very noble benefaction to the Vicar and parish of Lezaire; and to the other, for his worthy zeal and endeavours in bringing that affair about.

"I must let you know also, that the worthy Dean of York has, amongst his other charities, given ten pounds to be bestowed in pious uses, as I should think fit, and which I have already appointed to be laid out for the encouragement of ten petty schoolmasters: thirty poor children will be taught and clothed with that charity for one year.

"And I think we owe a great deal of thanks to my Lord Archbishop of York, our Metropolitan, who has been, and has promised to be, ever ready to assist us with his interest both in procuring us

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the Royal Bounty[e], and in taking especial care of the concerns and interest of this Church.

"There is another affair very well worthy of our most serious consideration at this time. There have since our last meeting been several instances of persons *dying drunk*. You all know that the rubric requires that the Office for the Burial of the Dead shall not be used for any that lay violent hands upon themselves, which no question was designed to discourage self-murder. Whether this sin I have mentioned does not come under that denomination is fit to be considered; I am sure if I were desired to read the Office on such an occasion, I could not do it, whatever should be the consequence, for reasons very obvious to any body who reads that Office with attention.

"I have had a complaint from some of the laity, that swearing in common conversation is become exceeding common and very scandalous in the Manx language; and I have had requests made that some methods may be thought of to discountenance such a wicked practice, which may be more effectual than the course hitherto taken to do it. And I shall be ready to be advised by you, my brethren, in these and all other matters which may concern the good of this Church; this being the primitive way, and which I have proposed to myself to follow as long as it shall please God to continue me amongst you.

"And I beseech Almighty God to direct and prosper all our consultations, for His glory, and the good of this Church."

The Archbishop of Canterbury, whose countenance is here claimed, was Wake. The Bishop had brought with him also a token from the diocese of Chester, not only of the sympathy and co-operation of its Bishop, Gastrell, but of the existence of a living discipline there; that is to say, Gastrell's mandate enforcing his (Wilson's) excommunication on a person before-mentioned who had sought refuge in England. This mandate was put on record in the Manx Registry, Feb. 25, $17\frac{19}{20}$. The Bishop of Cloyne was Dr. Charles Crow, who by deed, dated Feb. 9, 1718,—

"For, and in consideration of forty pounds," (advanced perhaps, or collected, by Bishop Wilson,) "and in consideration of his respect and affection to the Isle of Man, more particularly to the parish of Trinity, Lezaire, granted all and every the houses and lands of right belonging to him in the said parish to the Rev. Henry Allen, Vicar of the said parish, and his successor for ever."

[e] Isle of Man Charities, Liverpool, 1831.

This Dr. Crow was a native of the island, and some of his kindred bearing the same name were living there a few years since.

The Archdeacon's part in the above-mentioned vote seems to have been one among many tokens, discernible enough at the time, how strongly the tide of public opinion was flowing in favour of the discipline as exercised by the Bishop. On two important matters he found that he might have ventured on a stronger and more uncompromising line of conduct, and publicly expressed his regret for not having done so. One, already noticed by anticipation, was his sanctioning a composition for the tithe to the abbey lands, for which he now declared his regret in Convocation, put it on record, and followed it up by taxing himself to redress, so far as he might, the Church's loss,—and all on the principle, literally understood, of a divine right to tithes. The other is explained in a letter to his Registrar, of which the date does not appear, but it could not be later than 1720:—

"Mr. Woods,—The crime being adultery, both in the man and woman, it would be of very ill consequence to be too indulgent to such offenders, (not to mention the evil precedent of suffering people to do penance, or to be received, on any day except Sunday). I have been often persuaded, being ready to believe the best, to relax the Church censures too soon, and now I hear of it every day; not one who applies to me on these accounts, but quotes every person who upon any account had favour shewed them in any manner of way. As for this man, 'tis fit he should be tried until Whitsuntide, whether his repentance is sincere, and in that time he ought to perform one Sunday's penance at least. His backwardness in beginning to perform his censure, the fourth Sunday, and not before, (that he might incline us to receive him, after he should have done three days' penance, and that upon a week day,) is to *me* a sign that his thoughts were more upon avoiding his censures than upon the sin that occasions them. However, let him be tried a little longer.

"I am your affectionate Friend and Brother,

"Tho. Sodor and Man."

To this may be added, that only a little before, i.e. on Aug. 14, the case of the poor ignorant Katherine Kinread,—

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one which most persons would, years before, have given up in despair,—had come (as before related) to a favourable termination. The discipline, rough as it seemed, had softened her heart, and the Bishop had no scruple, and much real comfort, in absolving her.

It seems too as though at this time especially a peculiar blessing rested upon his preaching. From the entries on his MS. sermons, we may gather that four especially of those which are published were composed and first preached in this year; and each of them might be recommended as a sort of model in its kind. The first, a Confirmation sermon, dated Ballaugh, Feb. 28, (about a month from his landing,) and he adds,—"Then confirmed forty young people very well instructed." This is now numbered 81, its subject, "The Certain though Invisible Effect of Christ's Ordinances;" its text, St. John iii. 7, 8. The next is that majestic and touching discourse on our Lord's weeping over Jerusalem; it stands 43rd, and was delivered first at Peel, Aug. 21, 1720. The third is an Ordination sermon; No. 90, remarkable as a calm and very edifying assertion, with irresistible enforcement, of the prerogatives which were then especially most grudged to the clergy, and of their corresponding duties. And the 4th, which counts as 61, is an Advent sermon, remarkable amongst other things for its eloquent and persuasive use of portions of the *Te Deum*, to which he always delighted to resort. This also is marked Ballaugh, Dec. 4, in that year. Altogether it is hard to imagine a higher and more engaging position than that in which he now stood before his people, especially when they were led to consider him and his doings in the way of contrast with the other side.

For he continued to experience intolerable annoyance from the irreconcilable enemies of discipline, on every occasion, fair or foul. Awhile before, in officially notifying to Bishop Gastrell the case of his own servants, who being under censure, had escaped into Lancashire, he had said they found means to do so "by the advice and assistance of some who are enemies to the discipline of our Church." This was in 1718: now, two years after, it would appear as

if the Governor had made up his mind, instead of conniving at and prompting escapes, openly to patronize such scandalous persons and their doings, by refusing the customary aid of a soldier to take the convict to prison, or otherwise enforce the sentence of the Church court. That is, he took upon himself to repeal by his own arbitrary will an old and unquestioned law of the island, and that in no trifling nor isolated matter, but in one which involved the whole connection of Church and State authority there. The occasions on which (as far as the records inform us) he began to act on this determination, were just such as to shew that no circumstances, how scandalous soever, would prevent his carrying it out. They were two, and both arose in this same month of August, 1720, in which Mr. Murray, the Churchwarden, made his voluntary submission. The first, in the unhappy family of the Rowes. Besides his daughter Anne, of whom we have heard before, the Comptroller had another daughter, Dulcibella; whose conduct gave occasion to the following document:—"July 24, 1720. We, the Churchwardens of Kirk Malew, do humbly represent to the Court" of Consistory at Douglas, "that Mr. Farrell and Mrs. Dulcibella Rowe cohabit as man and wife, and no proof is made of their being lawfully married." July 26, the Bishop, first reciting that the parties "have made oath that sometime in April last they were married by one King, whom they understood to be a Romish priest, in the house of Nicholas Harley of Castletown, by the form of solemnization of matrimony in the Book of Common Prayer," decrees that, "forasmuch as the said marriage was made clandestinely, with several very irregular circumstances contrary to the Canon and Rubric," the parties must stand committed "until they give bonds to make such satisfaction as the law requires for the evil example and scandal given." The certificate of contumacy follows, and that on their refusing to obey the order, the Sumner applied to the Constable of Castle Rushen for the assistance of a soldier, according to law, "which the Constable refused, saying he had orders from the Governor to the contrary."

If this instance was grossly scandalous from the rank and position of the parties, the next must have been even more

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so, from the heinousness of the crimes in behalf of which the Governor thought fit to interpose. Robert Butler of Douglas had voluntarily desired that his oath might be taken in order to clear himself of the sin of adultery with his maid-servant, who had left the island; but she afterwards returned, and produced such evidences and circumstances, as gave the Court just reason to admit her to her oath, which she gave on her knees, deposing on the Holy Evangelists that he was the father of her child. "And whereas" (so speaks the sentence) "it is evident, by the depositions upon record, and by the whole proceeding, that the said Robert Butler has, with a seared conscience, added the great sin of perjury to that of adultery, he cannot too often repeat his confession and abhorrence of such enormous sins." He was to be imprisoned fourteen days, to give security to do penance in all the churches, and to stand at the crosses of the four market-towns, with a paper on his breast signifying his two great crimes; in each of the churches to make an open and solemn confession of his sins, and to supplicate the forgiveness of God and of all good Christians, "which we earnestly pray he may obtain for the salvation of his soul." But here again, when a soldier was wanted to assist the Sumner as usual, (Butler refusing to go to prison,) the Constable of Peel Castle refused to send one, as he of Rushen had done before. It could hardly be any thing short of a fanatical hatred to the Bishop and his discipline, when persons tolerably respectable could thus recklessly connive at the worst of mischiefs.

The Lent season of $17\frac{20}{21}$ set in, as had more than once happened before, with a providential escape, thus variously recorded. "From the dangers I escaped (Feb. 2, 1720) returning from Douglass in the snow." "Returning from Douglass," (where, as appears by another memorandum, he had been preaching and administering the Lord's Supper on the last Sunday in January, and had received from the Mr. Butler, whose contumacy has just been mentioned, an acknowledgment of his crime and a promise to submit to censure, "I was in great danger of being lost in the snow, or hurt by my mare while I lay in the snow," &c. No doubt he was crossing by the mountain road, in which

such a thing might easily happen even to the best horseman, and would be especially perilous because of the solitude. But the remarkable thing in these entries is that one so familiar with manly exercises, and the hair-breadth escapes inseparable from them, should keep his sense of Providential care so thoroughly awake, at every turn, so to speak, of the road. It is a fact parallel to the religious tone in which he registers what to most men of business would seem mere matters of account.

Archdeacon Horrobin charged with false doctrine.

But now the unbelief and discontent which are inseparable from genuine discipline, how considerately soever administered, were to break out in a series of trials and troubles, which, however petty and even ludicrous in many of their details, amounted on the one side to serious persecution, on the other to a real and noble confession with suffering for Christ's truth. The person who gave immediate occasion to this was Mr. Robert Horrobin above-mentioned, who seems, we are not told why, to have been at that time away from his parishioners at Kirk Andreas, and residing at Castletown, during considerable portions of the year. As Chaplain to the Governor, he might have an exemption from residence; and no doubt he was encouraged to avail himself of it by the "Vice-regal Court," his principles and position being just what were wanted to countenance them in the line they were commissioned to take. It was to be expected that his preaching should sound strange to persons, now for a long time, many from their childhood upwards, accustomed to the doctrine and tone of Bishop Wilson and those trained in his school; and so it speedily fell out. He came to the island in October, 1719, (the Bishop being then in England,) and early in Advent preached a sermon in Castletown Chapel, the tenor of which stands recorded on oath by Mr. Ross, the Academic Professor:—

"*March* 21, 1720.

"Mr. Archdeacon Horrobin, in a sermon preached in Advent, 1719, in Castletown Chapel, said several things which to me were very shocking. His text was St. Matt. xvi. 27, 'For the Son of Man shall come in the glory of His Father with His angels; and then He shall reward every man according to his works.' The latter part of the verse he took for the subject of his discourse.

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"After he had spoken of rewards in general, he seemed to me to place all religion in the goodness of our actions, without duly distinguishing the goodness of such as are done in charity from the moral actions of heathens and infidels, but considered them all in the abstract; which falls in with that dangerous opinion, that a man may be saved in any religion if he live well. He seemed by the thread of his discourse to think that great and good actions, whereever found, were suffieient to obtain the rewards of another life. He named the opinion of the Gnostics, that if a man believed he might live as he lists, and indeed very justly condemned it, but a little afterwards gave us a list of controversies that were in the primitive Church, after such a manner, as if they had been good for nothing else but to nourish strife amongst Christians. 'To instance,' says he, 'in that trifling and wrangling controversy about Easter and the fast before it; that about the divinity of our Saviour; about His two natures, and that about the invalidity of heretical baptism.' He named the Antinomians sinee the Reformation, and the controversies in these our times, which he called party businesses, putting all together as useless.

"Will. Ross."

It is but fair to add that the only other scholarlike witness to this portion of the Archdeacon's teaching, Edward Moore, (then I suppose an academical student,) speaks with hesitation of the gravest point alleged against it:—

"As mueh as I could learn from his discourse, he laid very little stress on the speculative part of religion; he spoke of the divinity of our Saviour as a point very much controverted in the Primitive Church. Whether or no it was immediately connected to [*sic*] the other disputes which he called wrangling and trivial, I cannot be very positive; but it really appeared to me as if he would insinuate it to be a trivial controversy."

By the following Lent the Bishop had returned, and his notes tell us that on Easter-Day he was administering Holy Communion in Kirk Michael to 300 persons; the whole population of the parish, if we may judge by an enumeration six years later, not exceeding 643. But in Castletown there was sad division. On Palm Sunday Mr. Ross preached on absolution, maintaining doubtless the same doctrine for which he had been called in question many months before, and had received the Bishop's warrant. The consequence was, that on Low Sunday the Archdeacon took occasion

from the Gospel of the day to put Bishop Hoadley's construction as the only admissible one on "the remission and retaining of sins." The substance of what he said was put down at the time in writing, and afterwards verified on oath, by Mr. Ross :—

"*March* 21, 1720.

"The Archdeacon impugned the doctrine of our Church concerning absolution in the following manner :—He said there was no trusting to the absolution either of a Popish priest or Protestant minister. He reasoned against absolution, whether conditional or unconditional, desiring his hearers to choose either. He doubted of the Apostles having a power to absolve, and positively denied any such power to their successors, by the following arguments. If the Apostles had such a power, it must only have been by virtue of their having been endued with miraculous gifts of the Holy Ghost, as discerning of spirits; putting their power upon a doubtful *if*. Before, says he, it can be proved that the text in St. John, ch. xx. ver. 21—23, gives the power of absolution to the Apostles' successors, it must be proved that every thing our Saviour spoke to his Apostles belongs to their successors. Again, says he, (speaking of the same text,) whatsoever contradicts the natural notions of God and the design and tenor of the Gospel cannot be the true meaning of any passage of the Gospel; but to make the absolutions of weak fallible men so necessary or so valid that God will not pardon any without them, and that all are pardoned who have them pronounced over them, is to contradict, &c. Bishop of Bangor's *Preserv.*, pp. 93, 94. By this he endeavoured to persuade his hearers that the doctrine of absolution could not be proved from that text, by giving them such notions of absolution as are ridiculous and absurd, and which I believe no man ever maintained. He desired his hearers always, when they interpreted that text, to take along with them the foregoing verse, 'And He breathed on them, and said, Receive ye the Holy Ghost,' whereby he insinuated very plainly that none can pretend to have the Holy Ghost, and therefore none can pretend to have the power to absolve; though every priest receives the Holy Ghost at his ordination by imposition of the Bishop's hands. He said it was too much to trust our salvation to the absolutions of fallible men, as if any of our Church believed it to be absolutely necessary; and he cast gross reflexions upon some of his reverend brethren of the same order, (these were his words,) as if they maintained a person is pardoned by the priest's absolution whether he is penitent or not. He said the truly penitent in the court of conscience is immediately absolved of God, and

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then, said he, there is no need of the priest's absolution, quoting that maxim, When the end is obtained the means are useless. By all which he endeavoured to render ridiculous the doctrine of excommunication and absolution, contrary to the 33rd Article, &c. He said that to maintain any other absolution than what he had set forth was absurd, ridiculous, and added, I may say blasphemous. That the substance of this evidence was delivered by the Archdeacon the Sunday after Easter, the 24th of April, 1720, and that what is in this paper was the same word for word that I delivered to my Lord Bishop before the Archdeacon, and I do declare that at that time he did not charge me with any one thing I had charged him with in the said paper that he had not said.

"WILL. ROSS."

This paper it seems Mr. Ross had laid before the Diocesan soon after the sermon was preached, but no public notice had been taken of it; the Archdeacon in the meantime had appeared, as we have seen, to act cordially with his brethren in the Whitsuntide Convocation. For aught that appears the Bishop shewed no disposition to molest him. But soon after Christmas, 1720, he ventured another step onwards in the same direction. Preaching upon those words, "God sent not His Son into the world to condemn the world," he taught, or was generally thought to teach, "that the heathens are in a state of salvation, if they live according to the light of nature."

All this caused, as might be expected, a good deal of unprofitable religious talk, besides the serious scandal to thoughtful persons nourished and brought up to believe in the truth of the Creeds, in the supernatural power of the Church, and in the necessity of both. Among the complainants, who, as the manner is, would often freely discuss what they heard in church, was a certain Mr. Thomas Harley of Castletown, whose rank and profession is not on record, but he seems to have been a gentleman, and one able to "render a reason" in decent English. He said so much to different persons of the false doctrines taught by the Archdeacon, that the latter, encouraged especially as it seems, by Mr. Rowe the Comptroller, took the very bold step of denouncing him (the said Mr. Harley) as an injurious person and calumniator. Whether this was done by regular

presentment does not distinctly appear. The Bishop treated the case with all formalities, summoning the parties to be heard before him at a consistory in St. John's Chapel, March 21, 1721; the two Vicars-General, Walker and Curghy, with the Registrar, Woods, being present; in this, as generally in delicate matters of jurisdiction, accustoming himself, like St. Cyprian, to do nothing without his clergy.

The course of proceeding on that day is not very clearly to be gathered from the register. Naturally the Archdeacon's charge against Harley should have been exhibited and the evidence on his side taken, first; the charge being, "That after a very base and scandalous manner he has declared that I was a preacher of false doctrine . . . particularly on or about Christmas last, concerning the salvation of heathens." By some strange oversight this paper was not delivered in form to the Bishop until March 27, six days after the first hearing. Some evidence regarding it however was forthcoming on both sides. Mr. Harley, who seems to have been a little over-prompt in conversational theology, was sufficiently proved by divers witnesses to have rather forced on the discussion, and kept it going in various companies, yet not as one blameably wanting either in good feeling or in common sense. The Archdeacon himself was moved by his frankness to own him "a generous enemy." As to personal motives, "I could not be so ungrateful," says Harley, "as to hear one of that holy function and his doctrines traduced, under whose direction I had once the happiness to be; whose principles I knew to be sound and orthodox, and who had in that point we were then debating your Lordship's particular approbation." He means, of course, Mr. Ross. And the ground of his theological criticism was, that "he did not know what hopes people had of being saved but by the rules laid down in the Gospel." He did not disavow his imputations, but proceeded to justify them, first by testimony from members of the congregation that the sermons contained the doctrines censured; secondly, by a kind of catena from standard English divines in disproof of the doctrines. Into this last head Harley entered so much at large, that the Court, apparently more than satisfied, allowed

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the Archdeacon to stop him before he had nearly got through his intended citations.

The evidence touching Mr. Harley's talk of the Archdeacon gives a somewhat entertaining view of the way in which such matters were then discussed in the capital of the Isle of Man. The Archdeacon's witnesses were persons high in office: the Comptroller, Rowe; the Water-bailiff, Seddon; Mr. John Quayle, then, or soon afterwards, Deputy Clerk of the Rolls; a certain Captain Fitzgerald, who at that very time had a censure from the Consistory hanging over his head for drawing his sword on Harley in the street on a Sunday; and one or two other laymen, mostly betraying extreme ignorance or indifference as to doctrine: so that their evidence was good only to confirm what none disputed, Mr. Harley's activity in impugning Mr. Horrobin's orthodoxy.

On Harley's side were four clergymen, — Ross, Halsal, Makon, and Woods,—Mr. Thomas Stevenson, one of the Keys, two academical students, and a few ladies, regular attendants in the chapel; who identified the doctrines preached, and their agreement with portions of what the Archdeacon then and there read out of his sermons. The Court adjourned after taking this evidence. Within a few days, no decision having taken place, the Archdeacon petitioned for a re-hearing, on the ground that Mr. Harley on pretence of defending himself had gone into "most heinous reflections upon your petitioner's character, principles, doctrine, and behaviour, to the great defamation of his sacred order, as also directly tending to the ruin of his reputation in all other respects." (A representation in no wise borne out by any of the papers on record.) He asks also for a copy of Harley's case as it had been laid before the Court; Harley on his side applying at the same time for leave to produce further evidence. The Bishop, (March 31,) in pursuance of their common request, "allows of the several further depositions on both sides to be taken by and before Mr. Vicar-General Curghy, at such time and place as he shall appoint." He directs also Harley's statement to be put on record, "provided the Archdeacon do at the same time deliver the two sermons on 2 Cor. i. 12, and the other two sermons to which

the evidence already taken had relation;" copies to be given to either party as may be desired; and the Registrar after the holy season ended to attend at Bishop's Court with the whole proceedings, with a view to a final decision.

Hereupon came a second petition from Harley; which, with the answer to it, seems curious, as shewing the kind of liberties which people ventured to take on such occasions, and the way in which the Bishop controlled them.

"The petitioner" (Harley) "is ready to comply with your order as soon as your Lordship shall also order the said Mr. R. Horrobin to deliver up his brief or pleadings which he read before your Lordship at the same time; and that he insert the black and odious reflections he then threw upon the Court, of his expecting as much or more justice from a Spanish Inquisition; and the general character of Papists he so unjustly branded the Rev. the Clergy of this island withal ... with other things which your petitioner refers to the candour of Mr. Horrobin to insert ... humbly insisting that the whole should be delivered upon Mr. Horrobin's oath, that he has neither added, nor diminished, nor varied anything."

The answer is equivalent to 'Obey my former orders before you ask for a fresh one:'—

"*April* 14, 1721.

"When my last order touching the delivery of the sermons, &c., therein mentioned shall be complied with by both parties .. I shall then take into consideration the contents of this petition, to give such orders thereon as shall be agreeable to law and equity.

"Tho. Sodor and Man."

"To be communicated to both parties."

Still more curious, perhaps, is the following little correspondence, relating to the place in which the cause should be re-heard:—

"*April* 16, 1721.

"I writ to Mr. Vicar-General Curghy, that my Lord Bishop had recommended Kirk St. Ann as a proper place, to take the evidence at; to which this is his answer. "J. Woods."

"*April* 20, 1721.

"Dr Sir,—Though Kirk St. Ann should be the place I should rather pitch upon for the hearing of the difference twixt Mr. Archdeacon and Mr. Harley, yet because the Archdeacon desires it may be some place nearer in regard of some of his evidences who he says cannot travel so far, and particularly the Comptroller,

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I have appointed Kirk Malew for the place of hearing, and that upon Monday next at 9 of the clock in the morning, of which please to give the parties concerned notice.

"I am, Sir, yours affectionately,

"JOHN CURGHY.

"To the Rev. Mr. John Woods, Episcopal Register at Castletown."

But the Bishop had something more to say on the question:—

"*April* 22, 1721.

"Mr. Curghy,—It was for very good reasons that I desired the evidence to be taken (not the cause to be heard) at Kirk St. Anne. I told the Archdeacon so, when he desired it might be elsewhere, which I positively refused, and do wonder that he should the very next day apply to you to have my orders reversed. This is such a slur upon my authority as I will not suffer, and therefore once more I desire you to appoint some other place, either Kirk St. Anne or Kirk Braddan. And forasmuch as at the last hearing there were most gross reflections cast upon the Court, the clergy, and several of the evidence, to prevent the same for the future, I desire and require it of you, that you only take what evidence shall be brought before you; that you suffer neither of the parties, nor anybody in their behalf, to reflect on each other's evidence; and that you ask the evidences the proper questions yourself, and not suffer them to be misled: and that if anybody but the persons concerned, and the evidence they shall offer to you, shall interpose to interrupt your proceedings, I desire you will adjourn the Court to the next Consistory. And if there are any evidence to be taken who are not able to travel, if you take the trouble to go to Castletown, you shall be satisfied for your journey by those that occasion your trouble. If anybody shall take upon him to thwart these directions, I do desire you and my Register to leave the Court, and the consequences to me; and remember you are not to hear the cause, but to take the evidence only. It is necessary that I give, and you observe, these cautions, when you know the reflections that have always been cast upon us. Let me know the time and place you appoint, that I may appoint the General Sumner to attend: and this for very good reasons. I am,

"Your affectionate friend and brother,

"THO. SODOR AND MAN."

In St. Anne's accordingly the second investigation took place, April 27, 1721. But it threw little light upon either the substance or the aspect of the case. The most obvious

step in the way of evidence was of course for the accused to lodge with the Court the sermons in which the false doctrine was said to be contained: but this was just what he shewed himself most reluctant to do. Three weeks after the hearing at Kirk St. Anne, we find him petitioning the Bishop against "the great and mighty hardship" of being called on to deliver in his four sermons for the Bishop's perusal, as Harley was called on for a copy of *his* statement. The reasonableness of the petition may be judged of by the Bishop's reply:—

"The petitioner has no reason to complain of hardships, since my order referred to in this petition is altogether agreeable to his own express desire at St. John's Chapel, which was, that he was ready to deliver the sermons then in controversy and by him in part read in his own justification, provided Mr. Harley were obliged to deliver in his charge then read against the petitioner, which he has accordingly been required to do. And forasmuch as several evidences were taken relating to the said sermons, and the petitioner having publicly and in a solemn manner demanded of me, either to approve or condemn the doctrines therein contained, on account of which he complained of his having been defamed; I do therefore insist upon the petitioner's and Mr. Harley's compliance with my former order, viz. that Mr. Harley's charge and the petitioner's two sermons on 2 Cor. i. 12, not yet sent to me, be forthwith put into my Register's hands to be transmitted to me.—Dated at Bishop's Court, May 17th, 1721."

But call as he might, the sermons would not come:—

"I do hereby certify, that immediately after the receipt of the within petition and reference I communicated the same to Mr. Horrobin, Archdeacon, and Mr. Tho. Harley, the latter of whom readily complied with his Lordship's injunction, by offering to deliver up his plea or charge to be recorded; but the former, viz. Mr. Archdeacon, would neither put the within mentioned sermons into my hands, nor seal them up (as I desired him) to be sent to his Lordship. "J. Woods."

Mr. Bridson charged with calumny.

At this point there was an interval of many months in the proceedings touching Mr. Horrobin; the Bishop evidently desiring to give him every chance: and that may have been part of the reason why Convocation was not summoned this year at the usual time. Besides, the Bishop happened just

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then to be more than usually beset with frivolous and vexatious opposition from various quarters. The parish of Marown had a rough and ignorant Vicar, one William Bridson, or Brideson, whose calumnious sayings, contemptible enough in themselves, were a sore trouble to the good Bishop. His memorandum on the statements of some who denied hearing the calumnious words is, "How true, God knows. Thou shalt answer for me, O Lord my God." He was troubled not only on the man's own account, but as it was a symptom of the "too much contempt and wrath" which the proceedings of the Government were sure to encourage. On that same 17th of May, the Vicars-General, Horrobin assisting, (for he was at Bishop's Court fencing with the Bishop about his sermons,) took cognizance of the matter thus brought before them by the Bishop:—

"Gentlemen,—Mr. Gell, the Vicar of Kirk Onchan, having on the 11th instant acquainted me with a message sent him from Mr. Brideson, Vicar of Kirk Marown, by the said Mr. Brideson's clerk, Captain Cottier, in these or words to this purpose, viz. that the Bishop and the said Mr. Gell were both of them liars, and that he would prove them so; and understanding that this has been his deliberate manner of treating me for some time past; many instances of which, and of his contempt of my authority and of his Ordination vows, may now be made to appear, to the great injury of my high and holy office, and of the truth, depreciating both my person and character, and giving great offence to the sober, pious, and orthodox people under my charge: I do therefore think it highly necessary that you should now take such depositions as shall relate to this matter and charge, and that the said Mr. Brideson may be proceeded against according to the nature of the crime, and as the laws of holy Church prescribe.—Given under my hand this 17th of May, 1721."

The evidence was not forthcoming at the time, so the matter crept on to June 27, when the Vicars-General, in the presence of six more of the clergy, suspended Mr. Bridson from his office and benefice until satisfaction should be made; it being proved that, besides affirming "he could make the Lord Bishop a liar, only he was ashamed to do so, touching a censure granted by his Lordship and the whole Court against one Henry Balfour, which censure he also called

unjust and illegal;"—he also "presumed to administer the Holy Sacrament to the said Balfour while under the censure:" and "was guilty of other instances of insolence towards his Lordship, particularly in a full Consistory Court, in the face of the country."

It was a case which could not be passed over if there was to be any discipline at all. Yet the Government was not ashamed, as we shall see hereafter, to set down this among the tyrannical proceedings of the Bishop.

By the end of August the man was ready with a submission and recantation, such as it was; on which the Bishop wrote to the Vicars-General:—

"Notwithstanding the uncommon abuse and wrong done to the person, character, and authority of a bishop, which by the laws and discipline of the Church would have rendered the offender liable to deprivation had the rigour of justice been insisted on, yet we are desirous to try whether the milder way will not prevail to suppress that spirit of libertinism and disobedience which is endeavouring to get footing amongst us: We are therefore willing that the petitioner be no longer hindered from the exercise of his function; and we pray God that by his future conduct he may manifest a sincere repentance towards God, for casting so false and undeserved an aspersion upon one who, however unworthy, is over him in the Lord. Given under our hand this 29th of August, A.D. 1721, and of our consecration the 24th[f]."

Imprisonment of the Bishop's Registrar.

In this case, as in that of Horrobin, the Bishop had, in vindication of the discipline, to coerce disobedient clergy; in others, to protect the dutiful ones of the flock, both clergy and laity. Mr. Woods of Kirk Malew, the Episcopal Registrar, as he was one of the most dutiful, so was he most particularly exposed, both by his office and his place of residence, to interference from Lord Derby's agents. The year before this, Aug. 4, he had been imprisoned in Castle Rushen for declining to give up a document with which he was in charge until he had the Bishop's or Vicar-General's direction, but was released, I suppose, when such direction came. Now the trouble was more serious. On June 10, 1721, Governor Horne granted a brief to Wm. Waterson, jun., of Kirk Andreas, (whose family are stated to be in a pitiful and starving

[f] See Note (A) at the end of this chapter.

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condition through some unlucky accident,) to be read by the ministers of the south side of the island to their several congregations at the usual time, by each on the Sunday after it came to his hand; to begin at Castletown Chapel, the very next day, and the Sunday following to go on to Malew, and so on. The officiating minister in the chapel for that day seems to have been the schoolmaster, Mr. Makon, who received the brief only just as he was going into the vestry to put his surplice on, and was "in a great quandary" what to do:—

"For I thought" (so he writes to the Bishop the next day) "I ought to have your express permission, seeing it was an act of religion; all our collections there, as every other thing, being acts of each as members of the Church the Body of Christ, and not of the State, for which reason I thought you, who represent Christ, the proper person to order in this affair."

Then quoting St. Ignatius, "Do nothing without the Bishop," and remarking that the Saint mentions the δοχὴ among the things thus prohibited, he goes on to the rubric, where the words "enjoined by the King," at first sight seemed to him to allow the publication if enjoined by the King alone, as well as what is so enjoined by the Ordinary. But upon second thoughts he judged that "what is enjoined by the King must come to the minister recommended by the Ordinary:" to prove which he alleges the Canon of 1571, engaging us to teach our flocks nothing, "and consequently not to practise any thing," but what will stand the double test of Scripture and antiquity:—

"And since, talking to Mr. Woods, he confirms me in my opinion by making it your Lordship's. For he says you concerted the matter with the Government in the time of Governor Maudesley, and that it was agreed upon that there should be no briefs read in Church but what were recommended to your clergy by your authority."

He concludes with informing the Bishop that in his doubt he made the collection, but did not publish so much as the design of it, only read the offertory and sent round the alms-box; for which, if wrong, he asks absolution.

Bishop Wilson must have judged favourably of this letter, since he has had it inserted in his Register.

On Sunday, June 18, the brief in question reached Mr. Woods as Vicar of Malew, not however until 9 A.M., too near service to give him fair time for consideration. It appears that Mr. Seddon, one of the Council, brought it to him, expecting him doubtless to have scruples; which when he expressed, and asked for time to consult the Bishop, he was threatened in the Governor's name with penalties for contempt. He returned the brief, however, and the next morning was summoned before the Council; who made light of his allegation, fined him £3 6s. 8d., and committed him to the prison in Castle Rushen for a week. The parties to this act were the Governor, Seddon, Rowe, and one of the Deemsters, Charles Moore. Of course Mr. Woods wrote immediately to the Bishop, who replied the next day:—

"*June* 20, 1721.

"Mr. Woods,—I am not surprised at the usage you meet with. If you do think fit to petition for a release, I would have you only to insist upon the unreasonableness of requiring a person to read a thing of that nature, which required some time to turn it into Manx, &c. And that it was to your apprehension always necessary and regular, which [and] it has been so since your time, that when a Bishop was in the isle, all briefs to be read in the church were to come through his hands to his clergy; that you did not deny the reading, but only to have time till the next Sunday to be better informed; and leave the rest to my representation, which I design to give the Governor as soon as conveniently I can; and after that I will lay the whole matter before the Archbishop of York. As for the business of your parish, that cannot require you in confinement, and let the necessities be [what] they will, you are not answerable for the consequence. I write with difficulty [and must] conclude, "Your affectionate friend and brother,

"Tho. Sodor.

"If you do petition, let it be short and clear, that it may appear thereafter.

"The case of Corkill was a [precept] which is not the same with this; however, see the case upon record as you will find it, *Lib. Scac. An.* 1612.

"That 'tis very hard that a clergyman may not have time to consult with his Bishop when under any scruple without incurring fine and imprisonment.

"To the Reverend Mr. Woods, now a prisoner in Castle Ryshen."

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The following is written on the back of the above letter:—

"I was a prisoner from eleven o'clock on Monday morning, June 19, 1721, until 5 o'clock on Saturday evening afterwards. In all 126 hours. "J. Woods."

The copy of this letter is imperfect, and the Bishop seems to have been unwell; perhaps he had a touch of gout, to which in later life he was subject, and this might be why he wrote T. *Sodor* only. He was not, we shall find, at the Tynwald, where he was expected in the course of that week. His Registrar rejoined with courage, if not quite with good sense, like his own:—

"*Castle Rushen, June* 21, 1721.

"My very good Lord,—I have courage sufficient, praised be Almighty God, to undergo the remaining term of my imprisonment until Monday morning, and I hope He will grant me health and strength to bear it. There are some circumstances of my case, which I think I have not yet signified to your Lordship, and which perhaps are fit to be known before your Lordship seal your letters for England.

"1. I answered Mr. Sedden, on Sunday morning, (when he said he did not love non-compliance,) that I did not like invasions and encroachment upon authority, as I took the Governor's order to be upon the Regal power, and Acts of Parliament wherewith the Rubrick is fortified.

"2. I desired it might be deferred until the next Sunday, that I might consult your Lordship, and the Governor shew you such laws or precedents at the Tynwald as would justify his peremptory command.

"3. Upon my trial I begged the Governor would grant me longer time to make my defence, which he refused.

"4. I am not only debarred the chapel, which is situate within ten yards of my prison, and within my parish, and which was never prohibited any one until Monday morning last, but also denied the benefit of an apartment near the guard, which was about a fortnight ago granted to three wretches who had perjured themselves, and were suffered to go off the island without any other punishment, excepting a week's confinement there. And some time ago, an Irish Papist had the favour of the same room.

"5. It's plain that the Archdeacon told your Lordship a palpable untruth, in saying he had no hand in my troubles, for the Governor sent back the petition to him by the clerk, and desired him to do with it as they had been talking the night before; which the

Archdeacon did, for he sent a soldier with it beforehand, who gave it me (that is, a paper folded up) just as I was going into the church porch.

"Lastly, It's well, if the Governor has not (by this act of his, to which the officers have signed) incurred something like præmunire, or bordering upon high treason, by usurping sovereign power, or regal authority in this island, and the King's supremacy (that tender part of it) which extends to all his Majesty's dominions.

"My Lord, I had almost forgot, in this hurry, to tell your Lordship that I saw in the office Queen Elizabeth's injunction for the Common Prayer to be here in its full force; but I dare not (for certain reasons) demand a copy of that record at this time. To-morrow I shall send the other copies, if to be obtained.

"I hope your Lordship will represent my case to his Grace of York, who is capable, with your Lordship, to get redress for all the hardships laid on your Lordship, and

"My Lord,

"Your Lordship's most dutiful son,

"And obliged, humble servant,

"J. Woods."

The Bishop left nothing untried to support his friend and helper in this emergency. On June 23, his episcopal memoranda speak of a letter to Mr. Woods, to be communicated to the clergy on this matter of briefs, which letter does not appear in the Register. June 24, St. John Baptist's day, the Tynwald was to be holden, and Bishop Wilson, with his lame hand and many avocations, had drawn up a statement of the whole case, which in his absence was submitted to the Court, as follows:—

"*June* 24, 1721.

"To the Honourable Alexander Horne, Governor of this Isle, and the rest of the Legislature, now assembled at the Court of Tynwald.

"The following representation is offered by Thomas Bishop of this Diocese, in behalf of himself and his clergy.

"The Rev. John Woods, Vicar of Kirk Malew, having been fined £3 6s. 8d., and ordered a week's imprisonment in Castle Rushen, where he still stands confined for not publishing (without any direction from the Ordinary) a brief brought to him last Sunday morning, a little before church-time; I take occasion to lay before this Court the hardships of the said Vicar's treatment, and the evil consequences which may ensue thereupon.

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"First, I desire it may be observed, that all injunctions, even from the King's Majesty of England, do always come to the inferior clergy through the hands of the Archbishops and Bishops, to whom they are directed, pursuant to the rubric requiring 'that nothing be published by the minister in the church but what is prescribed in the rules of the Book of Common Prayer, or enjoined by the King or the Ordinary of the place;' and the same method has also been observed here for many years past, and (for what I can learn) was always a standing rule in this diocese, when the Bishops were resident in the island; and 'tis well known, that churchwardens being persons in office immediately under the direction of the Ordinary, cannot be obliged by any other authority than the ecclesiastical to collect the charity of Christians in time of Divine Service; neither can they be proceeded against or punished by any but the Ordinary, for refusing so to do.

"Now the Vicar of Kirk Malew knowing these things, and fearing to offend in point of canonical obedience, excused himself for not publishing the brief that day, desiring only a Sunday's respite to consult his Bishop, (a favour not allowed him,) and for this he is treated as a criminal, by severe fine and imprisonment, as before mentioned.

"2ndly. The hardship of the Vicar's case appears further, in that not only the said brief was to be translated into the native language, which required both time and consideration, but also that no complaint has been made by any person pretending to be injured by the non-publication thereof; and besides, the Vicar had another brief lately brought him, of an older date, ordered by the Governor and recommended by the Ordinary, which he thought the most proper to be read that day.

"3rdly. The said Vicar's grievance is still the greater, forasmuch as he has not (as is conceived) acted against any known law of this Church or land, specifying either the crime, the punishment, or the fine; and yet the imprisonment and fine imposed, which must needs bear hard on a poor Vicar, might by the same rule have been ten times as grievous, to the utter undoing of the said Vicar and his family.

"4thly. If therefore there be no law for such a proceeding, as I am well assured there is not, then surely Governor Mollineux's fining and imprisoning the Vicar of Rushen in 1612, for refusing to read his precept, (a matter of a very different nature, though made a parallel case with this,) cannot on any account have the force of a law to bind posterity[g]; especially when it is remembered, that

[g] See note (B) at the end of this chapter.

upon a complaint of this kind by the 24 Keys of this Isle to the late Earl of Derby, his Lordship's answer, now extant on record, gives his people assurance that no fines or corporal punishments should for the future be inflicted without some known law, already made, or thereafter to be made.

"5thly, and lastly. Forasmuch as the offences of clergymen in the house of God and on the Lord's Day do only subject them to be punished by the Ordinary in an ecclesiastical way, by suspension, deprivation, &c., which ought to have been the method of proceeding against the said Vicar, had there been any real cause of a prosecution;—

"It is therefore hoped and desired for the reasons aforesaid, that the said Vicar may be forthwith enlarged, and his fine remitted, and that no precedent of this kind may be allowed for the future, whereby the clergy of this isle may be compelled to act independently of their Bishop, or labour under losses or hardships, incompatible with the exercise of their function.

"But if these just causes of complaint shall not be thought fit to be removed, I then desire this remonstrance may be accepted as a legal protestation against the proceedings in this case, and all further actings therein, which may encroach on the episcopal authority, or the rights of the Church and clergy of this diocese.

"If Mr. Woods committed any crime he had a right to have had a legal trial before his liberty and property were taken away. If he had offended against the State as Sir Jo. Corkill is said to have done, which is the only precedent insisted on for this uncommon proceeding, he should have been tried by the 24 Keys, as he was, but if he omitted any part of his duty in the church, he ought, as the canon directs, to have been tried and punished by his Ordinary by suspension, deprivation," &c.

This weighty and well-considered remonstrance, how deeply soever it may have made itself felt by the representative portion of the assembly, seems only to have exasperated the Council. For Mr. Woods was some months after re-committed for non-payment of his fine, and treated, as appears by his own petitions addressed from prison to the Governor and the Lord of the Isle, with no common indignities: "exposed to the rigour, vermin, and stench of a cold, damp, and loathsome room, without a bed or fire, to the great detriment of his health, and hindrance from the duties of his calling."

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This second imprisonment was in March, 172½. It probably was but a short one; for on the 6th of that month the Bishop sent him £3 6s. 8d. to pay his fine, promising to send by the first opportunity his petition to Lord Derby. It was well for the poor Vicar that he had such a friend at Bishop's Court; for no help came from Knowsley, as probably none was expected.

Lord Derby's Queries.

It was partly perhaps with a view to check any hope of relenting in that quarter, that the Governor and Council, not meeting the Bishop at the Tynwald in 1721, thought proper at length to forward to him Lord Derby's Queries of Aug. 20, 1719; which, as will be seen, were admirably well fitted to explain to him, if he doubted hitherto, the terms on which they must hereafter stand with each other.

"*Knowsley, August* 20, 1719.

"To the Governor, Council, and Deemsters, who are to enquire of the following Queries, and report to me how they find them:—

"*Quere.* By what power the Bishop makes a Vicar-General, or has the donation of any other ecclesiastical preferment?

"*Quere.* Who presented the present Vicar-General? and what livings has the Bishop to dispose of? and by what power, and to whom? and what are the names of such livings since his time? the Act of King James the First giving the donation of all ecclesiastical benefices and the rights of patronage to the Lord.

"*Quere.* What is meant by the temporalties of the bishopric of Mann, granted to the Lord by the aforesaid Act of King James the First? wherein do the same consist, and how is the Bishop invested therein?

"*Quere.* Who are the present trustees to the Academic School? And to send me a copy of the deed of Trust.

"DERBY."

Why the officers kept this paper so long in their hands is nowhere explained; perhaps they were ashamed of the ignorance which it betrays or affects. It was accompanied, as will be seen, with a fresh demand, intended apparently to be a fresh embarrassment to the Bishop:—

"*Castle Rushen, June* 26, 1721.

"My Lord,—The Governor thought he might have had an opportunity of speaking to your Lordship at St. John's Chapel the last Tynwald day upon several particulars; but since he was dis-

appointed of that, he left orders with us to acquaint your Lordship that he had a letter from my Lord Derby, wherein he was told that he had an account from your Lordship that there was a vacancy in one of the parish churches of this island by the death of the late incumbent, but that he expected that before he would give a presentation the person that was to succeed ought to subscribe a declaration of the tenor of the inclosed, for the satisfaction of his Majesty and the Government of Great Britain, as well as his Lordship and the Government here; and we do presume that his Lordship will send over no presentation till he is satisfied in this particular, and we desire your Lordship's opinion in this matter, that we may transmit it to my Lord Derby.

"The Queries inclosed have been for sometime in this island, and a proper opportunity was thought best when your Lordship was present; but since your Lordship was not at St. John's Chapel, and that it is thought best that you might be acquainted therewith after the most respectful way they admitted of, we have also enclosed them, that if your Lordship think fit to give your answer to them or let us know when it consists with your conveniency to give us a meeting with the rest concerned therein, we may be able to return his Lordship an answer. In the meantime we are, with all due respect,

"My Lord,

"Your Lordship's most humble Servants,

"J. Rowe, Wm. Seddon."

Bishop Wilson's answer.

The Bishop's reply is amusing from a sort of dignified dryness, plainly indicating that he felt no embarrassment at all. The inclosure referred to by the Council, of which he makes no mention, was doubtless a paper proposed for signature in disavowal of all tendency to Jacobitism; and the Bishop's ignoring the proposal was laid hold of as a welcome argument of his disloyalty, to be used whenever it might be found convenient.

"*July* 11, 1721.

"Gentlemen,—I have considered the contents of your letter of the 26th of June, and would hope that my Lord Derby has long since received satisfaction concerning the several particulars therein mentioned, it being near two years since his Lordship sent them to you. If not, you will inform his Lordship that with reference to my power of constituting Vicars-General I claim no other power than what my predecessors and all Bishops in the Christian world have ever done, of appointing their own Vicars, or substitutes.

"And as for my right of collating to certain benefices, I hold and

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enjoy that as my predecessors have done, both before and since the Act of King James the First, in which there is a sufficient saving of every man's right and property.

"As touching the temporalties of the bishopric and the manner in which the Bishop is invested therein, you can very well inform his Lordship of that matter, having assisted in the solemnity of putting me into possession thereof.

"With respect to the vacant churches, I acquainted the Governor above two years ago, that when any should happen I take care, as all other Bishops do, to supply the cures during such vacancies with persons qualified, as the canons of the Church require; and in granting institution and induction to any of the livings of which the Right Honourable the Lord of this Isle is patron, I shall take care to do my duty likewise.

"As to the Academic School, I do suppose (not having a copy of the trust by me) that Mr. Cholmondely of Vale Royal, and Mr. Leigh of Lime, are the present Trustees. I cannot think of anything I have further to add,

"But that I am, Gentlemen,

"Your affectionate friend and humble Servant,

"T. S. M."

NOTE (A), p. 435.

THE following case occurring at this time will shew what penalty Bridson would have incurred, had he been condemned by the Temporal Court:—

"*At Bishop's Court, June* 13, 1721.

"The insolent behaviour of Thomas Corlett in affirming and persisting in his charging the Court with partiality and injustice, touching the probate of Robert Clark's will, (which, by the evidence annexed appears to be a false and groundless calumny,) would in strictness of law have subjected him to the loss of his ears, and ten pounds fine, especially since it is also proved, that he endeavoured to suborn one of the witnesses of the said will, by promising him money for concealing the truth, by which the said witness would have been guilty of perjury: yet, forasmuch as the Church aims at the reformation and not the ruin of offenders, he is therefore only fined in forty shillings *ad usum Domini*, ordered to stand three days committed in St. German's, and before releasement to give bonds to perform three Sundays' penance, viz. in the Churches of St. Andreas, Lezaire, and Ballaugh, acknowledging his crimes as becometh.

"T. S. M."

Even this censure was speedily mitigated :—

"The petitioner having so often protested his sincere sorrow for his uncommon offence, the Court is willing to believe that he will make such a becoming acknowledgment as may satisfy the world of the deepness of his regret for the same. If therefore the next Lord's Day he do after a becoming manner confess his fault and ask pardon on his knees before the congregation, that shall be accepted instead of the censure appointed, and his fine shall be considered hereafter.—Dated at Bishop's Court, July 14, 1721.

"Tho. Sodor and Man."

NOTE (B), p. 440.

"At Castle Rushen the 26th day of August, 1612. Before Robert Mollineux, Esq., Captain of this Isle, &c.

"The 24 Keys were assembled to hear, examine, and consider of certain abuses and misdemeanours committed by divers persons tending to the impeachment of the rule, state, and government of the said Isle; who, for answer and reformation thereof, upon deliberate advice and consideration had with the Deemsters and officers, do say as followeth :—

"'That they find by good proof and examination of witnesses that Sir John Corkill, Vicar of Kirk Christ Rushen, has refused to accept of and publish a precept sent from the Captain signifying the pleasure of the Countess of Derby concerning the Sumner's office, and also uttered other speeches tending to impeach the power of the said Countess, therein alleging it to belong to the Lord Bishop only; and therefore for these his contempts do leave the said Sir John Corkill to be fined and punished at the discretion of the Captain and the officers; who, considering the best ability of the offender, have fined him in lxvi^{s} viii^{d}, and to be punished for a week within the castle.

"'And in like manner, they find by sufficient proof of witnesses that Sir Silvester Crow, Minister of Kirk Christ of the Ayre parish, after the publishing of the Captain's precept, signifying the Countess of Derby her pleasure touching the Sumner's office, did, in very contemptuous manner towards the Government, say in an ale-house that the precept was not worth a straw; and therefore leave him to be fined and punished at the discretion of the Captain and officers; who, considering the best ability of the party, have fined him in xl^{s}, and to be punished for a week within the Castle.'"

CHAPTER XIV.

THE INDEPENDENT WHIG. CASE OF MRS. PULLER. 1721. AUG. 2.

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By this time the Bishop had received from his Metropolitan the Royal Instructions to the Archbishops and Bishops, re-issued now, 7 Geo. I., in a form somewhat different from their original one at the beginning of the reign; and had circulated them without loss of time among his clergy[h]. The difference lay chiefly herein — that whereas the former document referred directly to the doctrine of the Trinity alone, and to the Act 9 William III. "for suppressing blasphemy and profaneness;" this extended itself to "all the great and fundamental truths of our holy religion," and quoted by name the Act also of 13 Eliz., whereby it is made highly penal for an ecclesiastical person to teach contrary to the Thirty-nine Articles. Such a document arriving at such a juncture would seem to Bishop Wilson a rare providential interference; and with the amendment in his own health, which seems to have been now re-established, might encourage him to summon his Convocation at an unusual time of the year. At Kirk Michael, Aug. 2, he met them with the following Charge:—

"My Brethren,—Having lately received his Majesty's directions to the Archbishops and Bishops, to be communicated to the Clergy of their several Dioceses, I took care to send them to you, and I hope you have all of you received them.

"I might have satisfied myself with this, without giving you this new trouble; but really when I considered the contents of our excellent Metropolitan's letter which enclosed these directions, and his great concern for this Church's peace and prosperity, I thought it would be an injury to you not to communicate the contents of it to you, as well as the directions he sent with it.

"When his Grace first came to the see of York, I gave him a very just account of this part of his province; I gave him an account of our excellent discipline; of our perfect uniformity; of our happiness in being free from errors, heresies, and schisms; and, what I must not omit though it concerns myself, I told him

[h] Cardwell's Doc. Annals, &c., ii. No. clxxi., and compare Note (A) at the end of this chapter.

how happy I was in the love and obedience of all my clergy. And though this happiness is of late much envied me, and pains have been taken to divide us, yet I still hope it shall not be in the power of man to do this Church so great a mischief. But as I do resolve, by the grace of God, not to exercise any authority but such as is warranted by His Word, and incumbent upon me, as one whom the Holy Ghost has made an overseer of the flock of Christ; so I make no doubt to find in you a dutiful return of respect and obedience, not so much for my sake as for your own and for the Church's sake, with whose peace and welfare we are all intrusted. CHAP. XIV.

"You have read his Majesty' directions. You see what a spirit of profaneness, libertinism, and heresy is gone out into the world; a much worse plague than the other we are threatened with, and which we take so much care to keep from us[1]. It may be, you may think that we are in no danger of ever being infected with such wild opinions and such blasphemous tenets as are hinted at in his Majesty's directions; but be assured of it, the same causes will have the same effects.

"If wickedness shall ever be countenanced, or those discountenanced whose duty it is to oppose and punish it;—if the unity of the Church is once made a light matter, and he who is the centre of unity and in Christ's stead shall come to be despised, and his authority set at nought;—if the Bishops and Pastors of Christ's flock should not be careful to preserve inviolably the sacred rights committed to their trust;—then will error and infidelity get ground, Jesus Christ and His Gospel will be despised, and the kingdom of Satan set up again here as well as in other nations. But I hope and pray for better things.

"To this end, I pray you, my brethren, let us cultivate a sincere and brotherly union amongst ourselves. Faction and party among brethren is hateful to God and man. Let us be careful to pay a dutiful obedience, either active or passive, to the civil powers, not only for wrath but for conscience' sake.

"And that we may avoid all novel opinions and new-fangled doctrines contrary to the doctrines which we have been taught, let us all keep strictly to the faith delivered and handed down to us from the earliest ages in the Creeds. Let us value this sacred deposit, as we value our souls; and abhor every thought, and every tongue, that shall depreciate so great a treasure.

[1] "The plague at Marseilles." [It began with August, 1720, being brought by a ship from Sidon. Nov. 15, a Fast was proclaimed in Great Britain on account of it. Many Quarantine Acts were passed, and the alarm does not seem to have subsided until the end of 1721. See Salmon's Chronology, 398, 399, 415.]

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"In the next place, let us remember that the Liturgy and the Thirty-nine Articles are the rule by which we are to speak and to pray. The very title of the Articles will shew us why all clergymen are obliged to subscribe them before they are ordained; namely, 'to avoid diversities of opinions, and the establishing of consent touching true religion.' And whoever considers what he does when he subscribes them, and does it sincerely, will not dare to draw the article from the plain literal meaning to countenance some fashionable error or favourite opinion. I am heartily sorry that we have occasion given us to be afraid of such things; but you see, by his Majesty's directions, that infidelity and blasphemous errors are abroad in the world, and but too near us; and it behoves us all to be upon our guard against the infection.

"In one word;—there was never more need than now of hearkening to the Apostle's advice and exhortation to the elders at Ephesus, 'to take heed unto ourselves, and to the flock over which the Holy Ghost hath made us overseers;'—to ourselves, lest we give any just occasion of offence; and to our flock, lest they be infected with novel opinions contrary to faith and godliness.

"In short, let us strive to walk warily and unblameably; let us all speak and teach the same things; let us, as the same Apostle advises, 'mark such as would cause divisions and offences contrary to the doctrine which ye have learned, and avoid them.' 'For they that are such,' saith St. Paul, 'serve not our Lord Jesus Christ, but their own belly; and by good words and fair speeches deceive the hearts of the simple.'

"You see by his Majesty's directions what civil authority every Bishop hath to punish such offenders; but these are not arguments which I would desire to insist on, to a clergy with whom I have lived in perfect love and unity for more than twenty-three years past, and whose interest I have had as much at heart as my own. But I think it absolutely necessary to put you in mind of the authority with which God hath invested the Bishops of his Church; that if any attempts should be made to lessen that authority, or to make the clergy or laity independent of their Bishop, you may see the danger of closing with such designs, which would effectually ruin all order in the Church, and separate you from Christ.

"Whoever will read St. Ignatius's Epistles, as published by his Grace the present Archbishop of Canterbury, will see what that holy martyr and disciple of St. John saith of the necessity of being in union with the Bishop; and that such as are not so are not in union with Christ. But I shall not insist upon this; I hope there will be no occasion for it."

Infidel Propagandism.

He speaks as one who had good reason to know that the faithful efforts making in the English Church since the beginning of the century, to Promote Christian Knowledge, Propagate the Gospel, and Reform Manners, had as usual provoked strong reaction:—a systematic combination to spread immorality and profaneness under the guise of free inquiry. Hence the so-called "Hellfire Clubs," headed by such as the notorious Duke of Wharton[k]; for the suppressing of which an Order in Council had been issued, April 28, only ten days before the Injunctions to the Bishops just quoted. Hence the section of English writers but too well known both here and abroad as free-thinking, or deistical; to confront whom in their several aspects God's good providence raised up such as Waterland, Berkeley, Skelton, Law, and, above all, Bishop Butler. It was the same mischief which now seems to be re-appearing, after like wholesome revivals, to embitter Christendom anew with its crude and stale poison. A welcome aid they were to those who in political and social life were for ever "crying liberty and meaning licence." It was of course impossible but that a phenomenon like the Manx discipline,—a whole diocese of good Protestants believing not only the Atonement and the Trinity but also the Catholic Church, and so believing, as to submit themselves to the actual enforcement of such a code as Bishop Wilson's Canons,—could escape the evil eye of those unholy watchers. According to the fanatical spirit, which always leads such men to be propagandists,—a fact unaccountable excepting on the hypothesis (to them most revolting) that there are evil demons, and that there is such a thing as possession,—they could not rest without a distinct effort for the perversion of the Isle of Man. Unhappily, the Lord of the Isle (*quantum mutatus!*) was but too willing to become, consciously or unconsciously, one of their agents. Within a few months of the Bishop's warning to Convocation, Lord Derby almost made it seem prophetic, by sending over a certain Mr. Richard Worthington, with a special commission to introduce into the Castletown Library a book then

[k] See Lord Mahon's History of England, ch. xi. vol. ii. p. 27; Salmon's Chronology, 405.

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and for some time after notorious in that bad way, "The Independent Whig."

This was a collection of essays which had come out weekly after the manner of the Tatler and Spectator—that form having by those two successful efforts come to be the favourite vehicle of opinions, in politics, social life, literature, and even in religion, which sought to make themselves popular, or to appear such. Its first number bears date Jan. 20, 1720, its last, Jan. 11, 1721; the years being reckoned as we now use to reckon them, else, as will be seen, there could not have been time, alert as the faction was, for the book to reach the island and become so well known as the facts now to be related imply.

This work—which is by no means wanting in skill and point, and has that air of common-sense and frankness which demagogues, especially English demagogues, have usually found it expedient to put on—was written, we are told, by Thomas Gordon, the translator of Tacitus: of whom some account may be seen in Nichols's "Literary History[1]," from the pen of John the son of the well-known William Whiston. Among other things we are there told, "He was surely a deist, for I heard him at Lord Radnor's speak very foolishly and wickedly against Christianity and a future state: in which discourse," Whiston goes on to say, "I opposed him, and in the opinion of the company put him to a *nonplus*." For the rest, the licentiousness of Gordon's writings is such as not only to destroy his own authority, but to throw the deepest discredit on those who were not ashamed to avail themselves of his aid, in disputing on matters of Christian discipline.

Such a book, by such an author, sent at such a time to the Library which Wilson had formed for his clergy and academic youths, and over which he was known to watch with peculiar interest, could only be understood as an offensive bravado or challenge to the Bishop and his friends from those who ought to have known better. The results of the proceeding were curious. The copy intended for the Library was transmitted, as if for presentation, to Mr. Stevenson of Balladoole, now

[1] Vol. i. p. 709.

for many years the Bishop's tried helper and friend. He laid it before the Bishop with the following letter:—

"*Jan.* 19*th*, 172½.

"My Lord, I herewith send your Lordship a book called 'The Independent Whig,' which has been industriously handed about in these parts, and was at last by particular direction sent to me, with what design is easy to guess.

"But, I bless God, I have not so learned Christ. To me it seems a treatise so abominably impious, so much to create schism and divisions, and destructive to the hierarchy and very essence of Christianity, that in order to prevent the further spreading of its contagion, I hold it my duty to lay it before your Lordship, not doubting but your Lordship will take such measures as will obviate the mischief intended, and render abortive all the hellish designs of such as endeavour to pervert the minds of the people, and sap the very foundation of our holy religion; the unity and purity of which, both in doctrine and discipline, that God in mercy may continue to us, is the sincere prayer of, my Lord,

"Your most obedient and most humble Servant,

"Jo[n] Stevenson."

"A copy of John Stevenson, Esq. his letter to me.

"T. S. M."

The Bishop's Pastoral on "The Independent Whig."

The Bishop, as might be expected, applies himself to the matter in earnest, and eight days after comes out one of his weighty pastoral letters to his clergy, wholly dedicated to this subject, and in a manner exhausting it,—a letter which, in dignity, method, and loving energy, may remind some of the great St. Athanasius himself:—

"My Brethren,—Whereas a most pestilent book, entitled 'The Independent Whig,' has been lately brought into this diocese, and, as we are certainly informed, industriously handed about, with a manifest intent to beguile ignorant and unstable souls, and to render the doctrine, the discipline, and the government of this Church contemptible; and this, without any regard had unto his Majesty's directions, lately sent unto me by his Grace our Metropolitan, and communicated unto you, expressly condemning such vile books, and the spreading of them: I think it my duty to acquaint you therewith, and with some of the baneful contents thereof, that you may be upon your guard, and that we may endeavour to secure the flock, over which the Holy Ghost hath made us overseers, from the mischief intended by this and such-like blasphe-

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mous books, which God, whether for our punishment or trial, has suffered to be sent amongst us.

"That the great design of the book above-mentioned is to undermine the Christian religion, appears;

"By the author's representing all religion as the mere contrivance of ecclesiastics, for their own interest;

"By his rage and malice against the ancient Creeds, even that called the Apostles' not excepted, and by his treating all such as at any time have contended for the faith once delivered to the saints, as the tools of princes, and as the pest of mankind;

"By ridiculing the venerable fathers and councils of the Primitive Church, after the most scandalous manner, and thereby depriving, as much as 'tis in the power of hell to do it, the Church of Christ of their testimony to the truth, and of the then received sense of the sacred Scriptures:

"By making a very jest of the ordinances of the Gospel, and prostituting the Sacraments, ordained by Christ Himself, to contempt; magnifying those heretics who do avowedly reject them:

"By making the peace of the Church the bane of society, and unity amongst Christians, so much required by Jesus Christ, the very cause and badge of slavery:

"By scoffing at Holy Orders, and making a blasphemous comparison betwixt the powers conveyed by the Apostles to their successors and those given by an Attorney-General.

"And, that we may be assured that all this is from that spirit of Antichrist, which St. John saith should come into the world, the author of this book makes the want of faith an indifferent matter, and expressly saith that no man will be rewarded, or punished, for having, or not having, right or wrong conceptions of the Incarnation,—that is, concerning Jesus Christ's being come in the flesh; which the Apostle gives as the mark of Antichrist.

"In short, the whole book is one continued design, in which the devil and the authors have shewed the utmost skill, to lay waste the Church of Christ; to overthrow all revealed religion; to reduce men to a state of nature, and to bring all things into confusion, both sacred and civil.

"Lest therefore we should provoke God to deprive this Church and nation of the blessings of truth and peace and unity, and the means of grace which we have so long enjoyed, by seeming to sleep while the enemy is busy in sowing tares, and by neglecting to make use of all means, becoming the spirit of the Gospel, to hinder such vile tenets from spreading, to the manifest danger both of Church and State: I beseech you, my brethren, to join

with me in putting a stop, if possible, to the beginnings of profaneness and infidelity,—

"By convincing our people from the Word of God of the necessity of *holding fast the mystery of faith in a pure conscience*,—that is, of believing well, as well as living well; not being like children, carried away with every blast of vain doctrine: and of the prodigious sin of those who teach, countenance, or embrace anything contrary to the Gospel we have received: the Apostle saith, and repeats it, 'Let such be *anathema*:' let them be accursed.

"By detecting the agents and abettors of this anti-Christian spirit, that either they may be convinced of their error, *in the spirit of meekness*, or cut off from the body of Christ, *that they may learn not to blaspheme*.

"And for ourselves, my brethren, let us endeavour *by well-doing to put to silence the ignorance of foolish men,—holding fast the faithful Word, as we have been taught, that we may be able by sound doctrine both to exhort and convince the gainsayers*.

"Given under my hand this 27th of Jan., in the year of our Lord 1721, and of our consecration the 25th.

"THO. SODOR AND MAN."

"To the Rev[d] Mr. Woods, Episcopal Register, to be communicated to the clergy of this diocese."

The Bishop and Vicars-General impeached.

This unanswerable rebuke, (for as such it must have been felt,) coming in addition to all the other matters in which the Bishop had been or was still so effectually withstanding them, seems to have driven the Council nearly out of their senses with anger. The Attorney-General, Daniel Mylrea, junior son of one of the Deemsters of the same name, was instructed to lay before them "a representation or complaint," "according to his oath and office to preserve our Honourable Lord's rights and prerogatives," against the Ecclesiastical Courts. And on Feb. 2, an official summons was signed by the Governor to the Bishop and Vicar-General Walker, to appear on the 9th at Castle Rushen, and answer to the three following charges:—

"First, that the Ecclesiastical Court assume to themselves a power of hearing and determining causes in their Court contrary to the rules that the statute law of this isle directs. One instance thereof is their proceedings against Mr. Bridson of Marown for a scandal.

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"Secondly, [that] the Lord Bishop of this isle calls a convocation at his pleasure, at times and for causes that are not comprehended in the law for calling a convocation,—for instance, the convocation called in the case of the Rev^d^ Archdeacon Horrobin.

"Thirdly, that the said Court have taken upon them to summon and censure persons not within their jurisdiction, contrary to the known laws of this isle,—for instance, the case of Madam Horne, the Reverend Archdeacon Horrobin, as my Lord's Domestic Chaplain, and some soldiers belonging to the garrisons.

"These, at this time, are the instances chiefly complained of by the Attorney-General against the Bishop and Vicars-General of this isle. Friday next is the day appointed for the hearing of the same.

"Monday, Feb. 5, 1721, Mr. Quaile, Deputy-Clerk of the Rolls, gave me this paper, which he said the Governor would have to be sent to the Bishop.

"J. Woods, Reg. Ep."

Mrs. Puller, *v.* Archdeacon Horrobin.

For the right understanding and appreciation of the second and third of the above charges, it will be necessary to take up the thread of the proceedings in Archdeacon Horrobin's case, around which, as a sort of nucleus, gathered eventually all the matters in dispute. That case continued in abeyance for three months, from June, 1721; the Bishop doubtless wishing to give every chance for its coming to a satisfactory settlement. But in October the Archdeacon came forward again in a way which resulted in extinguishing all hope of peace. There was in Castletown a young widow lady, named Puller, one of those who had given testimony in the inquiry at Peel regarding Mr. Horrobin's preaching, and who, according to the extent of her skill and knowledge, (which was nothing remarkable,) evidently sympathized more with his accusers than with him. But in her depositions she simply says, that on such a Sunday she heard Mr. Ross preach on Absolution, according to the notions that she had received of it, and that two Sundays after she heard the Archdeacon preach in the same place and on the same subject, but it was to her apprehension directly contrary to Mr. Ross's discourse,—"and it made me very uneasy, being sure that both could not be in the right;" upon which she adds, "I borrowed a book writ by a worthy member of the Church, and it gave me great

satisfaction, and it was agreeable to Mr. Ross's sermon." And in Advent, as to the salvation of the heathen and unbaptized, he preached so that (as she says) "before I went out of the chapel door I told a friend that I thought we were now all levelled by him." And on another occasion, "in speaking of controversies, he mentioned the two natures of Christ, and of the doctrine of the Trinity, and debates that arose about those 'trifling things' (as he called them) of keeping Easter and the fast preceding it, calling them wrangling and jangling, and trifles; and to my apprehension he seemed to make light of the foundation of our holy religion." CHAP. XIV.

There was of course nothing offensive in this evidence, and the mention of the little irregularity of talking about the sermon before she left the church gives it all a true and natural air; but it prepares one also to find, what is sufficiently proved otherwise, that this Mrs. Puller was somewhat unguarded in her conversation, and allowed herself to speak rudely both to the Archdeacon and of him. A certain Martha Fulford deposes on oath that,—

"Among other things, Mrs. Puller told her of the Archdeacon's asking her for a book, which she told him she had, that had confirmed her in her opinion of religion; but that his asking was after such a gibing manner as provoked her to answer the Archdeacon, that she would lend him the book, but that she believed him to be a man 'past grace,' or 'past all reformation,'"—the deponent cannot exactly say which of the two was Mrs. Puller's saying.

"Mrs. Puller proceeded to tell the deponent that she had heard the Archdeacon had threatened not to admit her to the Sacrament, on account of what she swore then; but, says she, 'I will try him: the poor wretch shan't fright me; I wish he dare refuse me,—he will find the worst of it, for I will presently cause his gown to be stripped off his shoulders,' or words to this effect."

And it was testified by another, who seems to have been the mistress of the house in which Mrs. Puller lodged, that she stated herself to have "advised with wiser heads than her own," (naming Mr. Ross and Mr. Halsal,) and to have been "told, that the Archdeacon durst not refuse to admit her to the Sacrament, for if he did it would be immediate stripping."

However, these wild conversations with one and another

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do not seem to have been made known to the Archdeacon until after he had taken the step next to be related. Being Lord Derby's Chaplain in the island, and as such officiating in the Chapel at Castletown, he thought it his duty, on Sunday, Oct. 8, to repel her from Holy Communion: his reason being, as he wrote to the Bishop on the 11th, that she had "done or said things as well injurious to himself, as offensive to the congregation." His message, sent to her by the clerk, was, he says, "after this sort, That I, for my part, heartily forgave her the injury which I was sensible she had done me, but till she was sensible of it herself, and declared so, I could not administer to her that holy Sacrament;" further adding, "That if she thought me worth conversing with, I would explain to her more particularly the reasons why I could not in conscience admit her." The Bishop sent a copy of the letter through Mr. Ross to Mrs. Puller, that she might wait on the Archdeacon and know his reasons, as he desired. She, for her part, sent in a petition, which the Bishop received Oct. 31, the tenor of it being,—

"That she had come to service on that Sunday with the best preparation she was capable of, and particularly with her heart free from malice, hatred, or prejudice, towards Mr. Archdeacon Horrobin or any other person; that she designed and stayed there to partake of the blessed Sacrament with the rest of her fellow Christians; but to her great surprise and inexpressible sorrow, was repelled, by a message sent by the clerk from the holy altar, without any previous admonition or intimation, as the rubric expressly directs, of any notorious offence or injury done:"—and she prays for relief accordingly.

The Bishop waited three weeks, and then finding that either the desired interview did not take place, or no good came of it, summoned both parties to a formal hearing at Bishop's Court, Nov. 29. In his note to the Archdeacon he tells him, "I ordered her, pursuant to the intimation you gave her, to wait on you, that if any just occasion of scandal had been given by her, so as the congregation had been offended, or that you had been surprized into a mistake, a Christian satisfaction might have been given by either side without bringing matters to a public hearing." It would seem that the Archdeacon had made no report, such as might be ex-

pected, of any interview, or whether one was sought, but rather had stood upon a supposed right of repelling from the Lord's Table any one whom he should think unworthy.

The Court was holden on the day appointed; the Bishop summoning the clergy, according to his constant rule, when one of their number was accused of anything serious, and also with an especial view to warn them all "of the ill-consequence and tyranny of any clergyman assuming such a power." Horrobin's preliminary plea was overruled, and the details of the case gone into. Mrs. Puller appeared with two testimonials; one of general good conduct, numerously signed by those who, from their character and position, were least likely to deceive or to be deceived:—

"*Isle of Man, Oct.* 20, 1721.

"We do hereby certify, that Mrs. Rebecca Puller (who has resided in this island above five years) has led a regular and virtuous life during that time, and has behaved herself with so much circumspection, sobriety and prudence, that her deportment among us has been inoffensive, and her reputation untainted.

"As witness our subscriptions, the day and year above written,—John Quayle, Anth. Halsal, John Murrey, Susanna Murrey, William Murrey, John Woods, jun., John Cosnahan, jun., Edward Moore, Jo. Cosnahan, Elizabeth Huddlestone, Elizabeth Corrin, J. Woods, Will. Ross, John Stevenson, Jane Stevenson, A. Stevenson, Tho. Stevenson, Jane Stevenson, Margarett Thompson, Katherine Halsal."

Most of the names, it will be observed, are of familiar occurrence in this history. The other testimonial, from Mr. Makon, the schoolmaster, who had been for some time officiating minister in the Chapel, speaks especially of her character before her arrival in the island,—of her "wary and prudent conduct" during her abode there,—of her exemplary and edifying Christian behaviour,—

"And particularly, that your deportment at the Holy Table (when I assisted there) was, to my great satisfaction, reverent and devout, and altogether such, that I have no reason to doubt but it was your previous care to approach the altar with all the qualifications necessary to make you a worthy partaker of the venerable and tremendous mysteries. This," he adds, "is what I have thought proper to declare concerning your carriage since you have been in

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this neighbourhood, as a charitable piece of justice due to you from me at this juncture, and to send it you in order to accompany those more valuable testimonials you already have of your life and conversation, with free leave to make use of it if you find it necessary, which can hardly be imagined by your sincere friend, James Makon."

The Archdeacon's charge against Mrs. Puller.

Then, as it appears for the first time, the Archdeacon brought forward a charge which made the whole matter infinitely more serious and distressing. The subjoined extract from the official entry will explain it :—

"*At a Convocation of the Clergy held at Kirk Michael, Nov.* 29, 1721.

"This day the Rev[d] Mr. Horrobin, Archdeacon of this island, being required to give his reasons why he repelled Mrs. Puller from the Holy Sacrament, gave this for one,—That there had been some undue familiarities betwixt her and a certain gentleman in Castletown, who, he afterwards said, was Sir James Poole. And, being desired to tell who was his author, he answered Madam Horne; who, he said, informed him that she coming at a certain time to Mrs. Puller's chamber door[m], when she lived at Mr. Allen's, found it shut; at which she knocked several times before it was opened; afterwards Mrs. Puller came and opened the door, and when Madam Horne came into the chamber, she there found, or saw, Sir James Poole;" to which she added something, "not convenient to be mentioned. And [the Archdeacon] being asked whether Madam Horne gave him this information before he repelled Mrs. Puller, answered, She did."

The matter was adjourned to Dec. 5, for which day Mrs. Horne was summoned by the Bishop's token to a Consistory in Kirk Michael Church, and with her such persons as she considered most fit and able to confirm her statements.

The Bishop, however, had first something to say to the Archdeacon's preliminary plea before-mentioned. The following passage from Hooker was by his order read in Court :—

"*The Judicious Mr. Hooker's Judgment, touching the Repelling Men from the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper. Page* 159 *of the 6th Book of* '*Ecclesiastical Polity*[n].'

["Difficulty may arise] if men shall presume to define or measure injuries according to their own conceits, depraved oftentimes

[m] The word "chamber" in these depositions means simply "room," or "lodging," as is plain from many instances.

[n] c. iv. § 15. Oxf. 1836.

as well by error as partiality, and that no less in the minister himself, than in any other of the people under him.

"The knowledge therefore which he taketh of wrongs must rise not from his own opinion or conscience, but from the evidence of the fact which is committed; yea, from such evidence as doth neither admit denial nor defence. For if the offender having either colour of law to uphold, or any other pretence to excuse his own uncharitable and wrongful dealings, shall wilfully stand in defence thereof, it serveth as a bar to the power of the minister in this kind. Because, (as it is observed by men of very good judgment in these affairs,) although in this sort our separating of them be not to strike them with the mortal wound of excommunication, but to stay them rather from running desperately headlong into their own harm: yet it is not in us to sever from the Holy Communion but such as are either found culpable by their own confession, or have been convicted in some public, secular, or ecclesiastical court. For who is he that dares take upon himself to be any man's both accuser and judge? Evil persons are not rashly and as we list to be thrust from Communion with the Church; insomuch that if we cannot proceed against them by any orderly course of judgment, they rather are to be suffered for the time than molested. Many there are reclaimed, as Peter; many, as Judas, known well enough and yet tolerated; many which must remain undescried till the day of His appearance, by whom the secret corners of darkness shall be brought into open light."

Then the evidence was gone into. The depositions against Mrs. Puller, including two which were drawn up at Castletown and subscribed the day before in the presence of witnesses, but which were not delivered in Court nor on oath, and therefore could not formally be taken for evidence, are extant in the Bishop's Register at Kirk Michael. The most that could be made out of them is that the parties had been more or less free and unguarded in their speech and behaviour: yet not more so, perhaps, than might be expected from the general tone of society at that place and time, which does not certainly seem to have been remarkable for high-breeding and delicacy. Mrs. Horne, it appears, demanded to be put on her oath, not simply as to the fact that she had given the Archdeacon such and such information, but as a witness against Sir James and Mrs. Puller; and this the Court would by no means allow, as in their view it would be making her

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both accuser and witness in the same cause: or, as the Bishop more distinctly expressed it afterwards in his petition of appeal to the Privy Council,—"The law of that island inflicted punishments on the authors of all slanders, and expressly disabled the author of a slander from being the witness to prove it unless there were some concurring witnesses[o]." Their minute of what passed is as follows:—

"*At a Court held at Kirk-Michael, Dec.* 5, 1721.

"Madam Horne has owned that the substance, as it is here [above] set down, was related by her to the Archdeacon, and declared she had no witnesses to prove it. She added, some time afterwards, that Mrs. Puller could not go under any other notion than that of a kept mistress."

On the other hand,—

"*Eodem die et loco.*

"After the oaths of the Rev[d] Mr. Ross, Academical Professor, and of Elizabeth Coat and Ellen Shimin, (which two young women had been one of them laundress and the other maid-servant to Mrs. Puller,) were taken in Court, that they never saw nor heard, nor even suspected any immodesty by her; then the Court permitted Sir Jas. Poole and Mrs. Rebecca Puller to take their oaths, which they solemnly did on the holy Evangelists, on their knees, and deposed they never were guilty of any adultery or fornication together, nor of any immodesty whatsoever. After which Mrs. Alice Stevenson and Mrs. Catharine Halsal on Mrs. Puller's part, and Mr. Thomas Harley and James Gerard (who had been a servant to Sir James Poole about four years) on Sir James's part, solemnly deposed also on the holy Evangelists, that they verily believed the said Sir J. Poole and Mrs. Puller to be clear of the sins of adultery, fornication, or unchastity; and that they also believed the said persons [to] have deposed the very truth in the oath of purgation, which they have now taken."

Mrs. Horne charged for slander, and censured.

The charge thus adjudged to be a slander was however openly and insultingly repeated, even in Court, and at that very time, both by Mrs. Horne, as the minute itself specifies, and by Mr. Horrobin, with a challenge to the parties accused to seek for redress where they could get it. They considered themselves to have no choice but to charge the accusers form-

[o] Herein resembling the present law of England regarding the proof necessary for affiliation of an illegitimate child.

ally for persisting in a slander after purgation; and the ground had to be once more gone over in a final Consistory at Bishop's Court, Dec. 19. The accusers failing at that time to produce any additional evidence, the Bishop and Vicars-General came to the only conclusion which under the circumstances the law allowed,—not without earnest endeavour to mitigate the scandal and irritation as far as might be. First, as between Mrs. Horne and those whom she had denounced:—

"*At Bishop's Court, Dec.* 19, 1721.

"Though the Court has a due regard to persons in Madam Horne's station, yet the benefit of the law being desired, for the gross slander and abuses before-mentioned, which must needs have subjected the persons concerned (if guilty) to a severe censure; and on account of which Madam Horne had been liable to perform public penance, and ask solemn forgiveness, but that the persons injured have, at our desire, been prevailed upon to accept of a public acknowledgment, &c.: We do therefore hereby order, that the said Mrs. Jane Horne acknowledge her offence accordingly, in St. Mary's Chapel of Castletown, or (if the parties shall be therewith satisfied) before the Vicar of the parish, asking forgiveness for the great injury done; and this in penalty of confinement in St. German's prison (by the Sumner, or a soldier from the Constable of Castle Rushen) until she give bonds to perform public penance, as aforesaid: and also ask forgiveness, as the laws of this Church direct.

"Publication is likewise to be made, that no person whatsoever presume to revive the said slanders,—*sub pœna* 3^{li}, *ad usum Domini*, forty days imprisonment, &c.

"Tho. Sodor and Man, Wm. Walker, John Curghey."

It appears by a memorandum in the Registry, that the Bishop had secured the consent of the prosecutors to this mitigation of the sentence on the day before:—

"*Douglas, Dec.* 18, 1721.

"My Lord,—In obedience to your lordship's directions, I have waited on Sir James Poole and Mrs. Puller, and spoke to them on the subject of their complaint to your lordship. They both are prevailed on to accept of your lordship's mediation, and notwithstanding the injury done them is very great, for peace' sake they will be content with Mrs. Horne publicly asking them forgiveness

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in Castletown Chapel, which they desire me to signify to your lordship, who am, my lord, your lordship's most obedient son and servant,

"ANTH. HALSAL."

Next, as between the Archdeacon and Mrs. Puller:—

"*At Bishop's Court, Dec.* 19, 1721.

"Forasmuch as it appears by evidences taken in the court held on the 5th instant, that Mrs. Rebecca Puller expressed herself after an irreverent and unbecoming manner in relation to Mr. Archdeacon; and though he, the said Archdeacon, has already under his hand declared he has heartily forgiven her: yet if he insist upon further satisfaction, we do order her to ask him forgiveness either in Castletown Chapel, or before the minister of the parish, provided he also at the same time ask her forgiveness for exposing her to public shame, by repelling her from the Lord's table, and terming her a hinderer and a slanderer of God's Word.

"And if, upon notice hereof given him by the minister of the parish, and the said Mrs. Puller's being ready to comply with this injunction, he shall either neglect o r refuse to declare himself touching the same, then his said neglect or refusal is to be no bar to her receiving the Sacrament at the holy festival approaching — *Dat. ut supra.*

"THO. SODOR AND MAN."

"*Dec.* 20, 1721.

"Upon my delivery of a copy of the within order to Mr. Archdeacon, he declared he would never ask Mrs. Puller's forgiveness.

"J. WOODS, Reg. Episc."

No Clergyman arbitrarily to exclude from Holy Communion.

Thirdly, the same Consistory recorded their judgment on the general question, whether a clergyman was authorized in excluding a person from Holy Communion without previous notice, and upon his own private impression of the person's unworthiness:—

"The Reverend Mr. Archdeacon Horrobin having, pursuant to the directions of the rubric, given us an account that he had repelled one Mrs. Puller from the Holy Sacrament, and the said Mrs. Puller having likewise made complaint of the grievous injury done her by being so repelled, and praying that satisfaction may be made her for so great an injury:—

"Upon hearing the whole matter, it appears, *First*, that the said Mrs. Puller was repelled without any previous notice or ad-

monition. *Secondly*, that the causes of the said repulse alleged by Mr. Archdeacon were not sufficient, being either personal injuries, of which he had no right to be the judge, or a private information of a scandal of which she has since cleared herself to the satisfaction of the Court. We do therefore declare and adjudge, that the repelling Mrs. Puller as abovesaid was irregular.

"And forasmuch as the said Mr. Archdeacon, in his defence, did insist upon a right of repelling any person from the Holy Sacrament whom he in his conscience thought unworthy, notwithstanding he was often told of the evil consequence and tyranny of such a procedure: We do hereby declare, that the said assertion is contrary to the rule of the Church in all ages. And to the end that Christians may not be deprived of the means of grace through the private resentments of their pastors, we do order and require, that neither the said Mr. Archdeacon, nor any other minister, do for the future presume to repel any person from the Holy Sacrament, whose crimes have not become notorious, either by their own confession, by presentment, or adjudged to be so by some sentence of law.

"And that no private Christian may be discouraged from going to the Sacrament for fear of the like usage, we do require, that this our order be read the next Lord's Day, in the parish Church of Kirk Malew; and that our Register do give the said Mr. Archdeacon a copy thereof, and communicate the same, if need be, to the rest of our clergy.

"Given under our hand this 19th day of December, 1721.

"THO. SODOR AND MAN."

The Bishop's way of meeting the Impeachment.

And now, although neither the Archdeacon nor Mrs. Horne made the least move in the direction pointed out to them, —the former indeed doggedly refusing to do so,—yet as no notice of appeal was given, the Bishop and his officers might hope that they had seen the last of this troublesome business, and that the ill-will caused by it might be gradually wearing away: and to encourage them in such hope, one Captain Fitzgerald,—who appears to have been strong in sympathy with the Archdeacon, having appeared in evidence on his side, and having actually incurred censure in the spiritual Court by drawing his sword on Harley, the Archdeacon's accuser, as they were coming from church, in the streets of Castletown,—did about this time petition the Court in acknowledgment of his offence, and the Bishop having dealt with him as with Mrs. Horne,—i. e. directed him to beg Harley's par-

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don before the Vicar,—he did so, and the rest of the sentence was remitted[p]. This was a fair precedent for persons at all peaceably inclined: but it was far otherwise with the half-bred, undisciplined spirits whom the Bishop had now to deal with. Whether or no their movements were quickened by his attack on the "Independent Whig" and its importers, does not appear; but by the end of two months, as we have seen, they had gathered themselves up for a crushing blow, and two out of their three "Articles of Impeachment" were supplied by the Bishop's proceedings in this cause; the unauthorized holding of Convocations, (for so it pleased them to describe his method of advising with his clergy on grave charges brought against any of their body;) and the treating the Lord's retainers and family—his Chaplain for instance, and his deputy's wife—as amenable to spiritual discipline.

The Bishop indorses on the order signifying the charges, "This came to me on Tuesday, Feb. 6, 1721;" and adds to his memorandum in his *Episcopalia*, "The good Lord, who knows my integrity, deliver me and my substitutes."

Evidently he and his Vicar-General Walker (for in all such matters they were as one) felt that this was a grave crisis for themselves and for the discipline of the island, and how to act for the best was a question to make them very anxious. To plead as individuals might have done, whether acknowledging or reserving for the time the authority claimed by the Governor thus to summon them on the Attorney-General's demand, was not to be thought of in a cause like this, lying between Court and Court. It were useless to appeal to the Lord of the Isle against his own substitutes, acting as they were known to be in sympathy with him, and indeed simply going through the task for which he had commissioned them. To the Metropolitan they could not formally resort, since they were charged with infringing not spiritual, but temporal laws. And they may have felt it out of the question to go at once before the Privy Council, where (besides the expense and delay) they would be sure to be asked, "Have you tried all legal intermediate ways of redress?"

In this emergency they fell back on a course which the

[p] *Episcopalia.*

Bishop had long ago contemplated as the constitutional one in extreme cases, namely, that of demanding a reference to the House of Keys, who, with the two Deemsters, might "deem the law" as between the two jurisdictions: a process perhaps not altogether unlike moving for a writ of mandamus or prohibition in one of our Queen's Courts; only the analogy would be more complete if the House of Lords, as advised by the Judges, were the body to be applied to in such difficulties.

We may notice by the way, that two at least of the points now mooted between the spiritual and temporal Courts, were in substance the same (though on so minute a scale) with some of those which had divided whole nations and Churches—not to say the whole of Christendom—in the Middle Ages. The Lord's claim to have his household exempt from spiritual discipline corresponds with Henry the Second's quarrel against Becket for presuming to excommunicate the King's tenants. And the Bishop's summoning his synod at will was the prerogative of which the other Henry, in the sixteenth century, shewed himself so jealous, and which he so effectually extinguished. Thus, as in so many other points, the annals of this small Island of Man prove to be a sort of miniature reflection of far more important histories.

The Bishop before the Governor and Officers, Feb. 9, 1721.

As to the proceedings at Castle Rushen on that 9th of February, we have on the one hand a vivid sketch of them from the person most concerned, on the other a statement professedly more in detail, entered on the records of the island by those who then had the custody of them. These latter (for it is fitting that their names should be set down here at full length) were Captain Alexander Horne, Governor; John Rowe, Comptroller, or Clerk of the Rolls; William Seddon, Water-bailiff; Daniel McYlrea and Charles Moore, Deemsters. These five names, or some of them, appear at the foot of all the official orders and other papers by which it was attempted to carry out the policy of the Lord of the Isle by coercing the Bishop. Mr. McYlrea was the father of the prosecutor. Two of the other judges—the Comptroller and the Governor himself—were in this case under circumstances which would have caused an English Judge of our

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day to decline, if possible, taking any part in the decision: Rowe, because his own two daughters had within a short time become subject to inquiry and censure in the Spiritual Court, one of them being even then under sentence of imprisonment, from which she was only protected by the arbitrary interference of the Governor; and the Governor's own wife was the Attorney-General's principal witness, alleging, as we shall see, grievous wrongs which she had suffered from the Bishop. Indeed, she also was at that very time a defaulter in the eye of the Church's Court.

Such was the tribunal whose doings we have now to relate. Their minute of this date affirms, "That the Bishop and Vicars-General, being summoned to answer the Attorney-General's complaint against them for crimes and misdemeanours by them committed against the Lord's prerogative, the laws of this isle, and the rights, liberties, and immunities of the subjects, and having appeared, obstinately and contemptuously refused to answer the said complaints, offering several frivolous and evasive allegations." Then, upon hearing the Attorney-General, and considering "several copies of record by him produced," that is, upon hearing one side only of the cause, they proceed to condemn,—first, the Vicars-General, for illegally suspending Mr. Bridson of Kirk Marowne; secondly, the Bishop, for gathering his clergy in Convocation by his own authority, and "therein assuming to try and examine matters not cognizable before such assemblies;" thirdly, both the Bishop and the Vicars-General, for exercising discipline upon Archdeacon Horrobin, the Lord's Domestic Chaplain, and Mrs. Horne, the Governor's wife, "contrary to the privileges and immunities which the Governor and his family ought to enjoy by the laws of this isle."

"Which said offences," they add, "do greatly tend to the subversion of the laws and government of this isle, the Lord's prerogative, and the rights and liberties of the subjects. Upon deliberate consideration of all which this Court doth hereby declare and adjudge their proceedings in the matters complained of to be irregular and illegal. And therefore the said Bishop and Vicars-General are ordered and required to retract and cancel their said proceedings upon the registry, under the penalty of the law provided in such

cases: and that they do not presume to proceed in such matters or against any such persons, as are so privileged by law, for the future." CHAP. XIV.

The only part of the evidence which they put on record, whereby to sustain this weighty sentence, was "the case and complaint of Madam Horne," the particulars of which have appeared. The recital, by its own shewing, is an *ex parte* statement. No one reading it would ever have imagined that where it speaks of "frivolous and evasive allegations" it means a distinct and formal claim to the benefit of a process well known to the constitution of the island, and *primâ facie* applicable to this as to other cases of disputed jurisdiction.

Yet this was what the Bishop really urged, as may be seen:—

"*Feb.* 9, 1721[q].

"We, the Bishop and Vicars-General of this isle, having by a paper sent us without date or subscription, in the name of the Attorney-General, been unworthily accused of maladministration in sundry particulars, which are equally groundless and injurious; do make it our request (as it is the undoubted right of any of the Lord's Council to do) that the Deemsters and 24 Keys be called to deem the law truly in this great and high point, viz.,

"Whether by the law and practice of this isle the Attorney-General can exhibit accusations against the magistrates, either spiritual or temporal, no appeal being brought in due form against their proceedings by the person pretending to be injured?

"And whether by a procedure of this kind, in matters purely spiritual, as the particulars charged upon us certainly are, the metropolitical right of the See of York be not manifestly impugned and endeavoured to be set aside?

"Had a consultation or conference been required, as is usual, where one Court desires to be informed of the reasons of proceedings in another, we should, in respect to the Governor and the authority he bears in this isle, have been ready, as we are very well able, to give satisfaction, that we have in no way assumed an authority beyond what is allowed by the laws of the isle, nor deviated from the legal and accustomed method of proceeding in our Court.

"But, forasmuch as we are called after this unusual manner, and charged, as aforesaid, with crimes of a high nature, tending to the diminution not only of the episcopal authority, but also of the Lord's prerogative and profit, as we doubt not to make appear,

[q] From the Rolls Office.

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we think ourselves obliged to desire and insist on the benefit of the law (touching the calling of the Deemsters and 24 Keys) as before mentioned.

"THO. SODOR AND MAN, WILLIAM WALKER, JOHN CURGHEY."

"To the Honourable Alexander Horne, Esq., Governor of this isle."

By way of alternative, they suggested another course, which would have raised the same issues, but in a harsher and less desirable way:—

"*Feb.* 9, 1721.

"Whereas a most scandalous libel has been exhibited by the Attorney-General against the Bishop and Vicars-General of this isle, touching our oaths, state, and government, and tending to the defamation of our office and places; we desire the benefit of the law by a trial of the matter before the 24 Keys of this isle, as has been usual in such cases."

And they added by way of note,—

"*The Law referred to, Anno* 1647.—It is enacted that if any person or persons whatsoever shall accuse or speak any scandalous speeches which might tend to the defamation of their offices or places, and be not able to prove it: he or they shall, for every time so offending, forfeit ten pounds, and his or their ears to be cut off for punishment besides[r]."

Had such a claim been alleged in any of our English Courts, it would at least have been calmly and solemnly argued out on both sides. But here it is simply disposed of by being called frivolous. Such is the Council's own statement of the matter on their own records.

On the day after the sentence the Attorney-General attempted a reply to the defendants' claims: the substance of which is, that he for his part knew of no way whereby he might vindicate the Lord of the Isle's prerogative but by laying such grievances before that Court,—"which has an unquestionable right of redressing such encroachments, as well as of hearing appeals." This, I presume, refers to the proposed arraignment of himself. As to the other proposal, the reference to the Deemsters and Keys, he says it was inconsistent with an acknowledgment they had made, that they were

[r] Mills, p. 113.

accountable to the Governor in temporal causes; but that if they alleged the matters now in question to be purely spiritual, "the Governor has, *this day*, condescended to offer a conference for laying such out of the complaint:—

"And that what was temporal only and did by law belong to the temporal jurisdiction, might be examined and adjusted, and that when the law was not plain and positive, but appeared doubtful, the Deemsters and 24 Keys might be required to explain. But," proceeds Mr. McYlrea, "notwithstanding all your acknowledgments of obedience to the temporal power, you refused and denied to answer to the complaints brought against you, or to enter into a private conference."

All this squares well enough in substance with the Bishop's own reports, only the latter add something material for those who would understand the spirit in which these judges were acting:—

"[s] We appeared, as above, when we were most barbarously treated as criminals: but insisting upon our right of having the 24 called upon this new and unheard-of way, we were denied the benefit of the law, the officers not daring to trust their cause with their country. Being denied the law, we desired that the Attorney-General might be tried for accusing us falsely, &c. This was also denied us; and because we would not answer to their unrighteous charge until the 24 and 2 Deemsters should give their judgment whether this was a legal way of proceeding, the Comptroller asked me whether I understood the meaning of *stat mutus*[t], and repeated it often.

"*Feb.* 10. We were called again on the same account. The officers began to see their error, and to be ashamed of it, but still refused to give us the benefit of the law, but would have us to come to a conference, which we refused, as being scandalized by their unworthy proceedings; at last we were dismissed from before them: and now I hope that it is our turn to call them to an account for this outrage on our offices and characters."

[s] Episcopalia, 1721, Feb. 9.

[t] [See Blackstone, iv. 25. "The English judgment of penance for standing mute was as follows: that the prisoner be remanded to the prison from whence he came, and put into a low, dark chamber, and there be laid on his back on the bare floor, naked, unless where decency forbids; that there be placed upon his body as great a weight of iron as he could bear, and more; that he have no sustenance, save only on the first day three morsels of the worst bread, and on the second day three draughts of standing water that should be nearest to the prison door; and in this situation this should be alternately his daily diet *till he died;* or (as anciently the judgment ran) till he answered."]

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He thought well to have the same particulars exactly entered and attested in his Episcopal Register, foreseeing what must be his last resort, and what need he would have of them to complete his case:—

"*Feb.* 9, 1721.

"The Bishop of Man, with his Vicars-General, being this day arraigned, and accused by the Attorney-General for exercising several parts of the episcopal authority, such as convocating his clergy in order to advise with them in difficult cases, censuring offenders, &c., which he pretended was not warranted by law; the Bishop, before he would answer to such an impeachment, desired it might be determined by the 2 Deemsters and 24 Keys (the proper judges of such cases), whether it was legal and practicable for the Attorney-General to bring such a charge against a whole Court, where no appeal had been made; and refusing to answer to the merits of the cause until this were determined, one of the Court, (viz. the Comptroller,) without any regard had to the character of the person to whom he spoke, asked the Lord Bishop whether he understood the meaning or consequences of *stat mutus:* he was answered by his Lordship, that he did very well understand it. These words he repeated several times, in order to compel the Bishop to depart from his legal and reasonable demand and right, and to terrify him by one of the most dreadful punishments that the law, both here and in England, has provided for the greatest and most obstinate malefactors.

"This we attest to be true,—James Makon, Anth. Halsal, Thos. Harley, John Murrey, Tho. Corlett, John Wattleworth, Wm. Murrey, J. Woods, John Woods, John Quayle."

The number of witnesses would seem to shew that this cruel insult was offered to the Bishop in open court. Rowe, who seems to have been one of the meanest and most vulgar-minded of the set, evidently delighting himself with the thought that he had now in his power one who had repeatedly made him uneasy by his warnings (though always grave and kind, as we have seen) against the scandals which he permitted in his family; who had also, not later than on June 20 preceding, remonstrated with him on a point to him perhaps still tenderer, "exhorting him to consider seriously the reasons and considerations of his tenure of that estate he got from Widow Curghy," &c.[u]

[u] Episcopalia.

Under such circumstances the offer of a private conference was idle, and could only be meant as a blind. Indeed at the very time they made it they had already put on their records a paper in which they pronounce the demand itself, on which they were offering to confer, a libel:—

"At a Court holden at Castle Rushen the ninth day of February, 1721,

"The annexed paper being given into Court by the Bishop and Vicars-General of this Isle, when we entered upon hearing and determining the complaints made by the Lord's Attorney-General against them for their irregular and illegal proceedings; the Court upon consideration finds that the said Attorney-General has acted pursuant to his oath and office, and that the said paper delivered in as before, and strenuously insisted upon by the said Bishop and Vicars-General under the specious pretence of desiring the benefit of the law, was craftily devised and intended, on purpose only to prevent all enquiry being made into their actions and behaviour, and to destroy the Lord's prerogative, to subvert the wholesome and ancient laws and government of this isle, and instead thereof to introduce their own arbitrary and usurped authority; therefore this Court doth adjudge and declare the same to be a most base and scandalous libel, highly injurious to our Right Honourable Lord and the laws and established government of this island.

"Alex. Horne, J. Rowe, Wm. Sedden.

"Dan. McYlrea, Cha. Moore."

The Bishop however was dismissed for the present, with a caution not unlike what was once given to the Apostles: and he received it much as the Apostles did. For the next week being the beginning of Lent, and the time for holding the Courts of Correction, his memoranda shew him exercising discipline literally in every one of the seventeen parishes of the island.

Stevenson's imprisonment.

But as though he could not be allowed ten days' rest, (that rest consisting of hard Church-work,) he received (Feb. 20) "a letter from Mr. John Stevenson, a prisoner for not delivering up the 'Independent Whig,' &c., with a token," he adds, "from the Governor requiring me to deliver it, or to come to Castletown to answer for not doing so[x]." He went accordingly the next day, (Ash-Wednesday,)

[x] Episcopalia.

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taking the precious book with him, which he had kept ever since it was sent him by Stevenson; and found the latter detained in Castle Rushen jail, by what law or at whose suit does not appear, but "the Governor refused to release him unless he produced the book: upon which," says the Bishop, "I gave it him, but gave in a remonstrance and protestation against the evil consequences of forcing it out of my hands, and sending it abroad again; which I desired might be recorded." And it *is* recorded in his own Register :—

"To the Honourable Alexander Horne, Esq., Governor of this Isle.

"The Remonstrance and Protestation of Thomas, Bishop of Sodor and Man.

"Whereas John Stevenson, Esq., of Balladool, is now imprisoned in Castle Rushen for assisting me to suppress a most pestilent book, entitled the 'Independent Whig,' which book has been industriously handed about, to the manifest hurt of the flock committed to my care; and forasmuch as I am obliged and required, not only by his Majesty's late directions sent me by his Grace our Metropolitan, but also by my consecration vows, to banish and drive away all erroneous and strange doctrines contrary to God's Word; and being convinced that this book, so full of damnable errors, (if permitted to be again dispersed,) is capable of doing more mischief than the very plague we are so justly afraid of, and since there is no other method of obtaining the said Mr. Stevenson's enlargement than by delivering up the said book: I do therefore protest against the evil consequences which may attend the forcing it out of my hands, and desire that this may be entered upon record, to the end that my obedience to his Majesty's commands and a due sense of my duty may appear hereafter. Dated Feb. 21, Anno Domini 1721, and of our consecration the 25th. "THO. SODOR AND MAN."

The book thus recovered was sent immediately by "safe hands," the Comptroller and his deputy, Mr. Quayle, to the Librarian, Mr. Ross; "who positively refused to accept the same, saying that he had read it, and that it was the vilest book that ever he saw; and with solemn repetition declared that he would as soon take poison as receive that book into the library upon any other terms or conditions than immediately to burn it." This remains solemnly attested in the Rolls Office at Castletown by Mr. Rowe and Mr. Quayle, as if the Librarian's sentiment were so perfectly monstrous

that to state it is to condemn it, and with it the whole tone of the Bishop and his friends on such matters[y].

The Governor, for his part, relieved his mind by entering on the Exchequer-book the following remarkable State Paper:—

"*At Castle Rushen, the 22nd day of February*, 1721.

"The concern the Bishop shews for John Stevenson of Balladoole, an esquire of his own creation, is a recompence he could not well avoid, since he has by such ways and means made him an instrument to pursue anything he shall think fit to put him upon. But it is surprising to find the Bishop making the assistance Mr. Stevenson gave him to suppress the book intitled the 'Independent Whig' the occasion of the confinement, when they and everybody else that knows the matter can tell that he was confined for refusing to restore that book that was but lent him, which Mr. Worthington desired might be presented from him to the library here; and if Mr. Stevenson would have returned that book, or a receipt from the library-keeper that he has received it for the library, as was often told, it would have both prevented his confinement and saved the Bishop the trouble of this elaborate remonstrance, since a receipt which might have been writ in few words would have done as well; and when they had it in their custody they might have used their own methods to suppress it or prevent its being spread abroad.

"But perhaps he had a mind to shew his resentment of this book under the specious pretence of his zeal and obedience to his Majesty's commands. But if he had thought fit to have used the prayers that were composed in the time of the rebellion, which were ordered by his Majesty to be made use of in all churches and chapels, &c., it might have been a greater instance of affection, zeal, and obedience to his Majesty and the Government than what he has done by censuring and condemning this book, which I cannot find has been condemned in England, or thought to be one of the books comprehended in his Majesty's late order. But though the prayers above-mentioned were then delivered to the Bishop in order to be used in the churches and chapels here, and that he promised they should, yet I did not find they ever were, nor do I now so much wonder at it, when I find that rather than the clergy will subscribe a declaration testifying their affection to his Majesty and Government, and his right to the Crown of Great

[y] Not long after, Mr. Ross had his term of imprisonment, for about three days, "for no other reason than for not giving a second receipt to the Governor for a book" (perhaps the same book) "sent to the Library." So say the Keys in a petition to Lord Derby in 1723.

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Britain as established by law against all pretenders, they will content themselves with supplying the cure of some parishes now vacant upon courtesy, rather than apply to the Right Honourable Lord and patron of this Isle for a presentation upon those terms. And since the Bishop has so earnestly desired his remonstrance to be recorded, he has given me an opportunity of making these remarks, and also of justifying my desire of having the prayers abovementioned used in this island, and leave me less liable to reflections that might be made for not using them.

"ALEXR HORNE."

Some apology seems necessary for inserting anything so low-bred and childish. But the sort of people with whom he had to deal in such matters was a great part of the Bishop's trial; and moreover the hint of disaffection to King George with which this document concludes would not in those days prove by any means so ineffective as it is false and irrelevant. It was taken up and made much of by the authors themselves of the ribald publication, in "A Letter to the Publisher," prefixed to the work in its fifth edition, 1731, and in subsequent editions. For the "Independent Whig" became popular enough to be reprinted at least seven times; so far justifying the Bishop's apprehensions concerning it: of which, as his notes shew, he gave a further token, by spending part of the Sunday after this discussion, Feb. 25, in writing to a Mr. Towers "in answer to his (Mr. Towers') book concerning my censure of the 'Independent Whig.'" Who Mr. Towers was I cannot say; but to those who know the Bishop's strict notions about the Sunday rest the fact is significant. The next day, (Feb. 26,) being at Jurby, (so he writes,) "I sent for Mr. William Christian of Ballymore, and reproved him for giving too much countenance to Henderson and the 'Independent Whig.' God grant it may have a good effect on him."

Complaint to Lord Derby.

Early in March, as we have seen, he had to transmit to Lord Derby his Registrar's petition from the prison in Castle Rushen, which he accompanied by a remonstrance of his own. And he followed it up on the 12th of that month by laying before his Lordship a regular statement of the late proceedings of the Council against himself. Cruttwell has preserved a portion of this paper, which I reprint as convey-

ing in the clearest and briefest form the Bishop's view of the main points of his own case.

"*Bishop of Man's Letter to the Earl of Derby, March* 12, 1721.

"May it please your Lordship,

"My last was in behalf of one of my clergy who petitioned your Lordship as one oppressed by severe fine and imprisonment; this further trouble is given your Lordship in behalf of myself and Vicars-General, who have lately met with very severe treatment, not to give it a worse name, from your Governor and officers here. The occasion was this: The Archdeacon having repulsed one Mrs. Puller from the Sacrament, gave me notice thereof in order to a hearing; amongst other reasons he gave for so doing, one was, that Madam Horne, the Governor's lady, had informed him that she had seen Sir James Poole and the said gentlewoman in so indecent a manner together, as that he thought it a sufficient reason for expelling her from the Lord's Table, which he did without any previous admonition.

"Sir James and the gentlewoman complaining of this as a grievous slander, demanded of us power to charge the Archdeacon to make it good, or to suffer as a slanderer. The Archdeacon to free himself brought Madam Horne, who owning herself to be the author of the information, and having no evidence to support the charge, and also refusing to declare how the matter was, unless she might do it upon oath, which the law not admitting of, in regard she could not be both accuser and witness; Sir James and the gentlewoman demanded the benefit of the law, which was to clear themselves upon oath, and which they did after a very solemn manner, with lawful compurgators, and then petitioned for reparation for such an unjust reproach cast upon them. This we could not in justice deny, and therefore Madam Horne was only to ask them forgiveness for the slander, and that under such penalties as the law directs.

"This, my Lord, is plain matter of fact; and were we to die for it, we could not have done otherwise, if we resolved to act agreeably to the law, our oaths, and duty.

"But now, instead of being countenanced by the civil power for a faithful discharge of our duty, or any appeals from our proceedings offered, I and my Vicars-General were summoned after a very unusual way to appear before the Governor and officers, and there treated after the most contemptuous manner imaginable, as if we were the vilest of the people, or as if we were not magistrates of the country and ministers of justice, as well as those who pre-

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tended to sit in judgment upon us; for we were made to stand for several hours (unless I would have sat down below the meanest clerk of the Court) like criminals at the bar, and such we were repeatedly called, and then also charged and accused as malefactors, only for exercising several parts of the episcopal authority, of which that Court could not be competent judges; namely, convocating the clergy according to law, in order to advise with them in difficult cases,—censuring offenders in matters purely spiritual,—suspending a clergyman pursuant to law and canon,—and lastly, for having censured the Governor's lady, as if she were above the law of the country, and were not under our jurisdiction in spirituals."

NOTE (A), p. 446.

Directions to our Archbishops and Bishops for the preserving of unity in the Church and the purity of the Christian faith, particularly in the doctrine of the Holy Trinity[r].

"George R.

"Most Reverend and Right Reverend Fathers in God: We greet you well. Whereas we have been given to understand that divers impious tenets and doctrines have been of late advanced and maintained with much boldness and openness contrary to the great and fundamental truths of the Christian religion, and particularly to the doctrine of the holy and ever blessed Trinity; and that, moreover, divers persons, as well of the clergy as laity, have presumed to propagate such impious doctrines, not only by public discourse and conversation, but also by writing and publishing books and pamphlets in opposition to the said sacred truths, to the great dishonour of Almighty God, the disturbance of the peace and quiet of this our Church and nation, and the offence of all pious and sober-minded Christians.

"We, therefore, out of our princely care and zeal for preserving the purity of the Christian faith, of which we are, under God, the chief defender, and also for preserving the peace and quiet of Church and State, do strictly charge and require you, our Archbishops and Bishops, to whom, under us, the care of religion more particularly belongs, that you do without delay signify to the clergy of your several dioceses this our royal command, which we require you to see duly published and observed; namely, that no preacher whatsoever, in his sermon or lecture, do presume to deliver any other doctrine concerning the great and fundamental truths of our

[r] From Cruttwell's Life, Appendix, p. civ., 4to., t. i. 1781.

most holy religion, and particularly concerning the blessed Trinity, than what are contained in the Holy Scriptures, and are agreeable to the three Creeds and the Thirty-nine Articles of Religion.

"And whereas divers good laws have been enacted for restraining the exorbitant liberties aforesaid, one particularly in the thirteenth year of Queen Elizabeth, chap. 12, entitled 'An Act for Ministers of the Church to be of Sound Religion,' by which it is provided, 'That if any person ecclesiastical, or which shall have an ecclesiastical living, shall advisedly maintain or affirm any doctrine directly contrary or repugnant to the Thirty-nine Articles, and being convened before the Bishop of the diocese, shall persist therein or not revoke his error, or after such revocation, eftsoons affirm such untrue doctrine; such maintaining or affirming and persisting, or such eftsoons affirming, shall be just cause to deprive such person of his ecclesiastical promotion; and it shall be lawful for the Bishop of the diocese, or the Ordinary, to deprive such person so persisting, or lawfully convicted of such eftsoons affirming; and upon such sentence of deprivation pronounced, he shall be indeed deprived.'

"And one other Act of Parliament made in the ninth year of King William the Third, entitled 'An Act for the more effectual suppressing of blasphemy and profaneness,' by which it is provided, 'That if any person shall, by writing, printing, teaching, or advised speaking, deny any one of the Persons in the Holy Trinity to be God, or shall assert and maintain there are more gods than one, or shall deny the Christian religion to be true, or the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament to be of Divine authority; and shall, upon indictment or information in any of his Majesty's courts at Westminster, or at the assizes, be lawfully convicted by the oath of two or more credible witnesses, such person, for the first offence, shall be adjudged incapable and disabled in law to have or enjoy any office or employment ecclesiastical, civil, or military. And if any person so convicted as aforesaid shall at the time of his conviction enjoy or possess any office, place, or employment, such office, place, or employment shall be void; and if he offend and be convicted a second time of any of the said crimes, he shall be disabled to sue, prosecute, plead, or use any action or information in any court of law or equity, or to be guardian of any child, or executor or administrator of any person, or capable of any legacy or deed of gift, or to bear any office civil or military, or benefice ecclesiastical, for ever, within this realm, and shall also suffer imprisonment for the space of three years, without bail or main-prize, from the time of such conviction.'

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"We therefore, being desirous to discountenance and suppress all such impious attempts and practices to the utmost of our power, do strictly charge and command you to make use of your own authority for that end, according to the tenor and direction of the said Act made in the thirteenth year of Queen Elizabeth, together with all other means and endeavours suitable to your holy profession, for opposing and suppressing all such practices; and we on our part will give strict charge to our judges and all other civil officers, to do their duty in executing the said act made in the ninth year of William the Third, and all other good and wholesome laws made for the preservation of our holy religion, upon such persons as shall offend against the same, and thereby give occasion of scandal and disturbance in our Church and kingdom.

"Given at our Court of St. James's, the 7th day of May, 1721, in the seventh year of our reign.—By his Majesty's command,

"CARTERET."

CHAPTER XV.

In the portion of this work at which we have now arrived, the reader will observe, in addition to the materials gathered from the Registry of the Diocese, frequent references to the book called "Episcopalia," mentioned above, p. 136. It is a manuscript volume, in his own handwriting; tall and narrow, bound in black leather, and clasped; and may be described as a sort of ledger, kept separately for the separate parishes. In it he was accustomed to make memoranda, not only of matters of discipline, but of pecuniary arrangements and other things, to help his memory and relieve his mind. As might be expected, it contains much that is graphic and otherwise most welcome to a biographer. It is entitled "Episcopalia, Decennium Tertium, 1720-21;" but its entries range beyond the ten following years; becoming however "few and far between" as the Bishop grows older, and the discipline more impossible. For this great help to the accomplishment of its task, the Anglo-Catholic Library is indebted to its Publisher, Mr. J. H. Parker. Mr. Stowell, p. 199, quotes a former MS. volume with the same title, but none is known to be now extant.

DISCIPLINE CONTINUED. CASE OF HENRY HALSAL. 1720—22.

For the rest of that Lent the Bishop seems to have been left in peace to the ordinary exercise of his discipline, which during the last year had apparently been attended, by God's blessing, with some very encouraging results, as if on pur-

pose to sustain him in his public trials. Thus one of the earliest entries in the remaining volume of *Episcopalia*, Feb. 24, 1720, stands thus:—

"Thomas H. came this day to me, and after a serious exhortation he at last confessed the crime of adultery for which he was presented, and has promised very solemnly to submit to Church censure, and to beg of God to give him grace that this may be the beginning of a new life to him, which God grant for Christ's sake. It is now a year since he was called to an account, and has till now persisted in obstinately denying the charge."

Churching after a discreditable marriage.

Again, at Kirk Bride, Aug. 29, 1721, a couple who had fallen into "ante-nuptial fornication" do "with hearty contrition most humbly confess and acknowledge it; earnestly imploring God's pardon, and grace to lead the rest of their lives as becomes penitent sinners, that hope for the salvation of their souls. And to the end they may be received again into the peace of God and His Church, they humbly pray that your Lordships" (the petition is addressed to the Bishop "*together with* Vicar-General Walker") "will vouchsafe to consider of their censure . . . with respect to the weak condition of the woman." Accordingly the husband, Daniel Christian, is directed to perform one Sunday's penance in the parish Church:—

"And for the woman's part, we are inclined to compassionate her condition with respect to her present weakness and her late great trouble, occasioned, as we charitably hope, by the sense of her sin. If therefore she shall in a solemn and becoming manner, upon her knees, before the congregation, make humble confession of her said sin, praying God to forgive her, &c., her pastor, after due admonition and recommending her to God by the prayer of which a form is in his hands, is hereby allowed to Church her."

Eventually the man's censure also was dispensed with:—

"S^{r},—In compliance with the humble and earnest application of Daniel Christian, we do allow of his solemn acknowledgment of his ante-nuptial fornication, together with his wife, the next Lord's day, notwithstanding the censure issued forth last Tuesday, by which the said Christian was enjoined to public penance. You are therefore duly to admonish him and his said wife *plenâ Ecclesia*, and upon their penitent confession of their sin on their knees, to com-

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mend them by prayer (as before directed) to the Divine mercy and favour. Dated at Bishop's Court this 1st of September, 1721.

"THO. SODOR AND MAN.
WM. WALKER."

"To the Rev. Mr. Parr,
Rector of Kirk Bride."

"*Sept.* 3, 1721.

"Pursuant to the within order, the said Daniel Christian and Mary his wife came to Church Sept. 3, before a full congregation, in a decent manner, and made humble confession of their foresaid crime, and asked God's pardon for the same. "JOHN PARR."

Is it quite impossible that some such modified penance as this might come to be adopted in our towns and villages, as some small token of real shame and contrition in a few at least of the innumerable cases of the like sin occurring among us, for which at present, generally speaking, the offenders are left to absolve themselves?

Another man of the name of Christian, of the parish of Kirk Marowne, entitled himself this year to the Bishop's favour by his way of accepting his penance. His petition acknowledges

"that all what (*sic*) the Church hath censured him is exceeding favourable, and infinitely below the merit of his horrible offence; yet as he hopes that God already accepts of his sincere repentance, so he believes that your Lordship takes no pleasure in the continuance of his affliction.

"Therefore he most humbly prays your Lordship to remit the rest of his censure, and order his reception into the peace of the Church, which he earnestly longs for: this granted, he shall have the greatest occasion to pray for your Lordship's eternal happiness. And if your Lordship thinks it not meet to grant the premisses, the petitioner in all humility submits; though his flesh is weak, the spirit is willing. He is indeed a bruised reed, and if human clemency vouchsafe not, may the Divine mercy preserve it from being broken."

The Bishop having reason, doubtless, to consider the petition as trustworthy, writes upon it,—

"*At Bishop's Court, Oct.* 30, 1721.

"The petitioner's crimes having been very grievous and offensive to God and man, yet his behaviour under the censures appointed for his reformation having been very dutiful and exemplary, his patient waiting for his restitution, and solemn promises of living as

becomes a true penitent for the time to come, have induced us to restore him to the peace of the Church, which is accordingly ordered to be done the next Lord's Day.

"THO. SODOR AND MAN."

"To the Vicar of Kirk Marown."

Thomas Stole.

One case there was on the other hand, that of Thomas Stole of Kirk Braddan, which after four years' trial came to a head in the course of this year—a flagrant case of drunkenness, swearing, profaneness, and insolent boasting of sin. He was excommunicated Nov. 8, 1720. The sentence, with some details, will be found at the foot of this chapter[a]. I mention it here to draw attention to the fact, that this being an ordinary person in low life, no one interfered to shield him from the spiritual power. The Bishop, as far as one can judge, would have been left free to exercise discipline, if he could but have found it in his heart to leave the Governor and the gentry of his acquaintance, with their several retainers and dependants, free to deserve it.

Henry Halsall.

But on Friday in Easter-week, March 30, 1722, an affair transpired of a nature to awaken the keenest sympathies both of the Bishop's friends and of the Governor's, in their several ways. There was resident in Castletown a Mr. Henry Halsall, brother to that Antony who when an academic student had voluntarily given up the *modus* on his tithes, and who was now Chaplain at Douglas. This Henry was one of the garrison—a soldier, he might be called, of the Lord of the Isle's body-guard. He was, I suppose, by his position a gentleman, and had some time before been resident in the Governor's household. On the evening of Easter Monday he had waited on the Vicar of Malew, Mr. Woods, who was of course his spiritual pastor, and told him that he had incurred a strong suspicion of incontinency with one Jane Macnameer, the Governor's housekeeper, she having been found in his room without any light; that although there was no unchastity betwixt them then, nor for a considerable time before, yet he owned with deep expressions of sorrow that they had been guilty of fornication together sometime since September last. And therefore he earnestly desires

[a] See note (A.)

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"that he may undergo such public penance as holy Church has assigned for sins of this heinous nature."

This report Mr. Woods accompanied with Halsall's petition to the Bishop; in drawing up which the petitioner had most likely been assisted by himself. It represents—

"That your disconsolate and afflicted petitioner was happily, though to his great reproach, surprised in an action very unbecoming a Christian, and though at that time he can conscientiously clear himself of the gross and enormous sin of fornication, yet the feeling guilt of his former crimes some months before with the same person, during his abode in the Governor's service, attended with many grievous circumstances, moves him freely to submit to the just shame and punishment his sins deserve, which as he dare not presume to extenuate, neither does he think anything too severe that your Lordship and the reverend Court think fit to impose on so unworthy a sinner, to restore him again to God's favour and the peace of His Church:—

"Therefore your petitioner most submissively subjects himself to your Lordship's and the reverend Court's just censure, only desiring that as he has already owned his guilt, with all the aggravating circumstances, to his pastor, he may, as soon as your Lordship and they think fit, undergo such discipline as his sins deserve, and as may lead him, with bitter tears of remorse and contrition, to bewail them, that he may again be made capable of communion with his fellow-Christians, and restored to those privileges which by his unhappy fall he hath forfeited; which granted, your petitioner, as in duty bound, shall for your Lordship, and their eternal happiness, ever pray."

In consequence,—

"*April* 2, 1722.

"It is ordered that the above offender be seven days confined in St. German's, and before releasement give bonds to perform three Sundays' penance, *non iterum fornicari*, &c. And we pray God his professions of sorrow and penitence for his sin, and the offence thereby given, may, by his future conduct, be found to have been sincere, and may end in the salvation of his immortal soul.

"Tho. Sodor and Man, Wm. Walker, John Curghey."

Although the official date of this be April 2, it is plain from *Episcopalia* that the Bishop and Mr. Walker being together when the letter was received, agreed at once upon the censure:—

"March 30. *Maliew.* A letter from the Vicar and another from

Mr. H. Halsall, with a petition of the said H. H. acknowledging after a most affecting manner his sin of fornication with one Jane Macnameer, the Governor's housekeeper, and desiring most earnestly that such penance may be appointed him as may be most proper to remove the great scandal given to the Church, and through the merits of Jesus Christ atone for the sin he has been guilty of; upon which we have ordered that he be confined seven days in St. German's, three Sundays' penance, and have writ to him to," &c.

He did penance accordingly on the second Sunday after Easter, April 8, "with so much seriousness and sorrow for his sin, that he moved me," says good old Mr. Woods, "and many of the congregation, to compassionate his condition, and I hope his future life and conversation will demonstrate that his repentance is unfeigned," and they ask to have the rest of the sentence remitted.

The Bishop, taking a week to consider, replied :—

"In hopes that you have good reason and grounds for what you say and desire, I do willingly dispense with the remainder of his censure, and do accordingly order that he be received into the peace of the Church on Sunday next, and may God preserve him, by His grace, in the same unto his life's end. Dated April 17, 1722.

"THO. SODOR AND MAN."

At the next Sheading Court, at Castletown, May 23, the confession and penance were certified, and also that the other guilty party had fled; which could hardly have been without the connivance of the Governor, whose servant she was.

Court-martial on H. Halsall.

After an interval, during which two or three other controversies between the Bishop and the temporal authorities either arose or became aggravated,—and possibly in pursuance of instructions from Knowsley,—it was resolved to take up the matter formally, in a way little to be expected beforehand—to bring the penitent, Halsall, to trial for an offence against martial law. The process appears very singular. On June 12, Mr. Rowe, the Comptroller, requires the "Jury of the house within the garrison of Castle Rushen" (which phrase seems to designate a sort of standing Court-martial) to take cognizance of the affair. His statement is,

"That Henry Halsall, one of the soldiers belonging to the garrison of Castle Rushen, having committed fornication, did, contrary

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to his duty and the ancient rules and orders of the said garrison, and in defiance of the obligation of obedience and fidelity incumbent upon him by his oath administered to him as a soldier, and without [regard] to the lawful privileges and immunities anciently enjoyed by the soldiers under the captain in garrison, and afterwards expressly reserved for them in Earl James's order concerning appeals from the Spiritual Court in anno 1636, offer himself of his own accord to be censured by the Ecclesiastical Court, and to undergo the punishment which they would think fit to lay upon him for the said crime; which he accordingly submitted to, without the Governor's leave or liberty, or as much as his acquainting him therewith; to the manifest breach of the laws of this isle, and contempt of the authority of the government thereof.

"The lawful rights and ancient privileges of the soldiers in garrison being thus basely betrayed, infringed upon, and given up by the said Hen. Halsall, with a contemptuous design of undermining and subverting the same, and with a treacherous intention of lessening the Governor's authority and power over the Feedmen in the garrisons, thereby endeavouring to make his case a precedent to subject them to an unlawful power highly prejudicial to the safe keeping of the said garrisons; therefore, that a timely stop may be put to these and suchlike wicked practices, you who are of the jury of the house within this garrison are required to proceed in this matter, and make true presentment thereof according to your oaths, the laws, rules, and orders of the said garrison, that the said Henry Halsall may receive such condign punishment for the offences and misdemeanours aforesaid as his crime demerits, and to deter and prevent others from committing the like for the future. —Dated 12th of June, 1722. "J. Rowe."

The Bishop's memorandum of the same date says that there had been a previous trial, that "they acquitting him, he tried him again this day, without suffering his own brother or any friend to be present[b]."

The jury in their presentment appear to intimate that Mr. Halsall had offered something "with reference to his discharge, which matter he did not make to appear, though the same was left to his own oath: ... the Honourable Governor" having for his part "declared in Court that he did not discharge him from his soldier's place, nor did not think to discharge him." And so they found him guilty in

[b] Episcopalia.

the terms of the charge, and "left him" (the Bishop says) "to the Governor's pleasure, for a punishment to deter others" from submitting to Church censures. That purpose they expressly mention at the end of their verdict, which they did not deliver in until the second day after the trial.

"Upon which," he adds, "this day, June 17, I wrote an home letter to the Governor, expostulating with him on the iniquity of the verdict, &c. Upon this the soldiers were called, as was supposed, [for him] to run the gauntlet: but upon his appealing, first to the Lord, and then to the King in Council, the Governor flung him into the dark dungeon for forty-eight hours."

Here is the "home letter," from the Episcopal Registry :— The Bishop's letter for H. Halsall.

"*Bishop's Court, June* 17, 1722.

"Sr,—Having just now had an account that Mr. Henry Halsal has been twice arraigned and tried by a jury of soldiers, for desiring (as became a good Christian) to undergo, and for submitting to, our ecclesiastical censures, in order to be restored to the peace of the Church, which he had forfeited by his sin of fornication, and to which he knew none but his spiritual pastors could restore him, —and that the said jury have left him to your discretion, to be punished in such public manner as may deter others from submitting to ecclesiastical jurisdiction,—which verdict being grounded upon an answer given by two Vicars-General, anno 1610, which ha lain dormant ever since : I think it my duty, as I am one of the standing Council, to acquaint you, in order to prevent the evil consequences of putting that sentence in execution, that I am able to make it appear that the said answer of the Vicars-General never was the law of the land; that they themselves, the very next year following, gave judgment contrary thereto, by exercising jurisdiction over the Chaplain of Castle Rushen, whom they committed two several times into St. German's prison for his irregularities:

"That it is contrary to the express words of the Acts of Parliament establishing the metropolitical rights of the see of York:

"And lastly, that it is directly contrary to the real and undoubted law of this isle, by which it is provided that no person whatever is to be privileged from Church censures: which being a law so well known, the very officers as well as soldiers of the garrison have thought it their duty to submit to it, as appears by many instances on record.

"I do therefore desire, before this young man be exposed to public shame and punishment, and a precedent be made for exempting any person of this diocese from the care and jurisdiction of their

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Bishop and ecclesiastical governors in matters purely spiritual, that the 24 Keys of this Isle be called together, before whom I undertake to make good what I here declare and affirm, viz. that the said Mr. Halsal has transgressed no law of this land by submitting to the Church's censure. And I persuade myself you will be so far from taking this amiss, that you will thank me for the intimation given. At least, I desire this letter may be preserved on record as a testimony of my being,

"Sr, your faithful friend and Servant in Christ,

"Tho. Sodor and Man."

"A copy of my letter, To the Honourable Alex. Horne, Esq., Governor of this Isle."

H. Halsall's punishment, and its results.

This letter and Halsall's appeal between them seem to have staggered the Governor for a while, for he took another fortnight before pronouncing sentence—time enough to communicate with England again. During those fourteen days Halsall was continued a prisoner and treated as a criminal, his nearest relations being denied admittance. His sentence came out, July 2; on the third day, as will appear, of the Bishop's imprisonment: the matter and manner of it being such as if Captain Horne had designed to shew, and put it on record, that he cared about as much for the honour of a soldier as he did for the conscience of a clergyman. Thus it stands in the Exchequer-book at Castle Rushen:—

"*July* 2, 1722.

"That the garrisons of Castle Rushen and Peel, and of Douglas and Derby Forts, be drawn up under arms in the castle-yard, to which place the Constable of the garrison is to bring Henry Halsall, soldier of the first-named garrison, and before them to read his petition to the Bishop and Vicars-General, with the censure thereupon, the crime lodged to his charge, and the verdict of the jury, with his punishment for the same; which is to be as follows:—

"That the said Henry Halsall for his notorious offence run the gauntlet, and afterwards be drummed through the garrison, his hat and shoes off. The porter leading him by the arm (the soldiers marching close after) to the outer gate of the castle, where they are to give him three huzzas, and at the same time the porter with his foot to give him a kick . . . ., and then he may look upon himself to be discharged. "Alexr Horne."

"The first part of his punishment (viz. running the gauntlet) is remitted, but the rest are forthwith to be put in execution.

"Alex. Horne."

After all this, it seems to have struck Mr. Horne that he had taken on himself the duties of a Metropolitan also, and that he must do something towards fulfilling them; so he issued on the same day one more State Paper, a pithy termination to the whole grotesque series :—

"*July* 2, 1722.

"Gentlemen,—The Governor ordered me to acquaint you, that he would not have you to think, that if you commit any crime punishable in any other person (not in the same circumstances with yourselves) by the Ecclesiastical Court, that you are to go free from punishment, but to the contrary, (if you do,) the punishment for that crime will be more severe than any the Ecclesiastical Court can inflict for the like.

"Richard Slater,
"Captain and Constable of Castle Rushen."

"The above was read to the soldiers of Rushen and Peel garrisons, and of Douglas and Derby forts, at Castle Rushen, the day and year above written. "Richard Slater."

About a month afterwards, Mr. Halsall addressed a letter to Lord Derby, which should be read by all who would form a just notion of the man and his sufferings, and of the state of things which the Bishop had to deal with [c].

There is no appearance of Lord Derby's taking any notice whatever of this remonstrance.

It is touching, as we turn over the Bishop's memoranda, to come upon the conclusion of this strange and sad history, within a very few weeks :—"Sept. 2, 1722. Hen. Halsal (see above) dyed." It was the very day after the Bishop and Vicars-General had returned home from the imprisonment just now to be detailed. The Bishop, in his Case prepared for the Privy Council, says,—

"Henry Halsal, in the dungeon where he continued two days and two nights, contracted such a disorder as was looked upon to be the occasion of a fever, of which he died soon after."

Is it too imaginative to suggest that the high-minded young soldier (for such he must assuredly have been) may have had his life shortened by the struggle between his duty to his God and the sense of bitter insult, and of the scorn and reproach, which after such treatment was sure in great measure to accompany him through life?

[c] See Note (B) at the end of this chapter.

NOTE (A), p. 481.

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"THOMAS, by Divine permission, Bishop of Sodor and Man, to all Christian people to whom these presents shall come. Grace and peace in our Lord everlasting.

"Know ye that whereas Thomas Stole, of Kirk Braddan, within our diocese of Man, has for four years last past been frequently presented, admonished, and censured for great immoralities, particularly Oct. 23, 1717, for drunkenness; Oct. 13, 1718, for the same crime; Feb. 3, 1719, for cursing, swearing, and drunkenness; May 16, 1720, for the like; and June 8, 1720, for drinking a health to the devil; for which and other irregularities he has already been repelled from the Sacrament, been imprisoned, and given bonds to reform; but still returns to his former evil courses: for being this day called before us for having boasted of his incontinence with Margaret, the wife of James Killip, of the said parish, he now affirms that he has several times been guilty of adultery with the said Killip's wife for some years last past. The said Thomas Stole therefore continuing incorrigible under all the milder and Christian methods that have hitherto been made use of in order to reclaim him, we have, with the advice of our Vicars-General and the clergy now present, been constrained to cut off and excommunicate the said Thomas Stole from the Body of Christ, which is His Church," &c. [The rest is according to the usual Form of Excommunication.] Dated Nov. 8, 1721.

NOTE (B), p. 487.

"*A Letter from Henry Halsal to the Earl of Derby*[d].

"*August* 4, 1722.

"My Lord,—Your Lordship must not be surprised if the growing miseries of the people multiply complaints, and the arbitrary proceedings of the officers increase your Lordship's trouble, as they do the groans of the people. I am, my Lord, one of the many who have suffered under the unequal yoke of the oppressive government, and without law or precedent been subjected to such treatment as may surprise your Lordship. I believe I am the first in your Lordship's island that, under the colour of law, have been proceeded against for submitting to the laws of God and my country; and for this and no other crime that I am conscious of, I have been used worse than the greatest malefactor. I was, my Lord, for two days successively, summoned before a jury of soldiers, and exposed by a public trial for undergoing Church censures. I thought it arbitrary enough to be thus tried, but much more intolerable to have

[d] From Stowell's Life of Wilson, Appendix, No. II.

my judges my prosecutors; and that I should not only undergo so strange a persecution, but be attacked by the whole Court, and have no meaner antagonists than Mrs. Horne and Mr. Sedden to appear publicly against me. That I should by a mock trial be traduced as a criminal, and after being acquitted of the scandalous charge exhibited against me by the jury's verdict, founded on my oath, which the Governor thought fit to put the issue of the dispute on, be denied the benefit of their return, and confined to the town, as if found guilty. That I should continue under this unprecedented restraint for ten days, till a new process was commenced for the same cause and by the same jury, under pretence that the former hearing was *coram non judice,* though Mr. Quayle, who acted as judge, produced a commission from the Comptroller, and was so far countenanced by the Governor as to receive his instructions from him. That I should be deprived of the benefit of the jury's return on this footing, and yet be denied justice against the said Quayle for acting without an authentic commission, as your Lordship may see by the inclosed complaint, which has been given in by me to the Twenty-four Keys, and by them to the Governor, without being suffered to proceed in this affair to do the said Quayle or me justice, for what reason your Lordship may easily judge. That on a new trial thus arbitrarily commenced against me, neither time nor authority was allowed me by the Governor to summon my most material evidences, and that those who were prevailed on to appear should be kept out of Court by a double guard, as were all my friends from being witnesses of the treatment I met with; notwithstanding a known impediment in my hearing, whereby I was in a great measure incapacitated to make my defence, or of knowing what was alleged to the jury against me. That I should be compelled to stand alone among my prosecutors, and to see six poor ignorant jurors, whose bread depended on the Governor's pleasure, threatened and menaced by swearing one against another, till contrary to conscience and law they would comply to take back their formal verdict, founded on the proof the Governor himself required, and make such a one (without any precedent or proof) as might sacrifice me to his implacable malice. That whilst a jury was thus barbarously managed, my evidences should be left by the Governor to be scurrilously abused and affronted by the Comptroller, and hindered from giving their oaths in the matter disputed. That I should, during the whole trial, be refused recourse to the records and copies to enable me to make my defence, while all papers that might mislead or prepossess the jury were laid before them by the Clerk of the Rolls in private, who also drew up their verdict, though he was justly objected against by me on account of his former indirect practices. That a return

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should be made against me on a second charge, which I never saw or heard till after my trial; and that I should be prejudged and punished by two days' imprisonment in the castle, after a tedious confinement to the town before the last verdict was accepted, and I found guilty of the supposed crime. That after the Governor had taken so many irregular steps and unjustifiable methods to get me into his own power, I should, for endeavouring to rescue myself out of his hands, by petitioning for time to apply to your Lordship, and, if that request was denied me, by appealing to the King, be thrown into a loathsome dungeon, and be continued there two days and two nights, to the great hazard of my life; when I was constrained to take this method, the soldiers of the several garrisons being called together for my execution, and my punishment magnified by the emissaries of the Court to such a degree, that I had no other visible way of escaping their malice. That in contempt of the King's or your Lordship's authority in this isle, I should, notwithstanding my appeal, for fourteen days after be continued a prisoner, and treated as a criminal, (my nearest relations being denied admittance). That the soldiers should be thrice called for my punishment, and I at length sentenced by the Governor to run the gauntlet, and afterwards be ignominiously kicked out of the garrison; the latter part of which was inflicted on me, though the former was remitted, which I look on as no favour, the reproach being the same. All which, my Lord, is but a sketch of the hardships I have undergone, and the above methods that have been used to compass my shame and punishment for a crime which had been looked upon as none, but that the government had private views to serve: and as I have no reason to sacrifice my reputation or liberty to gratify them, so I hope your Lordship will not blame me for taking this method of applying to your Lordship for satisfaction for the injuries done me. Your Lordship, I am persuaded, is too great a patron of men's liberty to suffer the meanest of your people to be thus harassed; and, thank God, I am neither quite so despicable or destitute of friends, as not to be able to seek for redress. If, my Lord, I cannot prove that this is the treatment I have met with, I own I deserve worse than I have received; but if I can, your Lordship, I hope, will allow that I have reason to complain, and ought to be relieved against my oppressors. And therefore I shall throw myself upon your Lordship's known candour and goodness, not doubting but your Lordship will order me such redress as the nature of my case may require, which shall for ever engage the prayers of,

"My Lord,

"Your Lordship's most humble suppliant,

"And obedient Servant,

"HENRY HALSAL."

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